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THE MONARCHY

OF

THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

FRANCE

SOCIAL, LITERARY, POLITICAL,

SECOND SERIES.

BY HENRY LYTTON BULWER, Esq. M.P.

Nature and truth are the same every where, and reason shows them every where alike. But the accidents and other causes, which give rise and growth to opinions both in speculation and practice, are of infinite variety.

Bolingbroke on the true Use of Retirement and Study.

Reverere conditores Deos, numina Deorum. Reverere gloriam veterem, et hanc ipsam senectutem quæ in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra est. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus facti, sit fabulis quoque, nihil ex cujusquam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil etiam ex jactatione decerpseris.

Plinius Maximo Suo S.

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VOL. II.

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ERRATA TO VOL. II.

Page 1, line 1, *for* trial *read* treat.
„ 10, „ 13, *for* Englishmen *read* Englishman.
„ 19, „ 25, *for* suite of rooms you enter are fine *read* rooms you enter fine.
„ 32, „ 11, *for* lady with three daughters *read* lady with her youngest daughter.
„ 70, „ 1, *for* prostitution *read* promiscuous intercourse.
„ 74 to 134. There is a mistake in the heading—since the title "Social Condition" ought still to have continued on one page, and the subject of the different chapters on the other.
„ 123, „ 22, *for* impossible *read* possible.
„ 144, „ 4, *for* commercing *read* commercial. government *read* governmental.
„ 150, „ 23, *for* central *read* control.
„ 163, „ 8, *for* A jury of thirty-six *read* A jury of thirty.
„ 167, „ 12, *for* constitution *read* construction.
„ 172, „ 11, *for* their condemnation *read* the confinement they were condemned to.
„ 180, „ 13, *for* there are in France *read* there are in France for secondary instruction.
„ 181, „ 18, *for* commercial college *read* communal college.
„ 209, „ 25, *for* 4½ *read* 4¼.
„ 210, „ 3, *for* half-pence *read* pence.
„ 229, „ 11, *for* altogether *read* almost.
„ 244, „ 8, *for* half-penny *read* ½*d.*
„ 246, „ 5, *for* am painting *read* have painted.
„ 253, „ 19, *for* at once as an aid, a check *read* at once an aid and check.
„ 259, „ 22, *for* every private establishment *read* all private establishments.

THE MONARCHY

OF THE

MIDDLE CLASSES.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

CHAPTER I.

The two questions still left to trial—The condition of society and the method of government among the French people.

THE reader who has kindly followed me thus far, will be sensible that I have very imperfectly, but still with some industry, attempted to bring before him a variety of subjects which lead me naturally to those I am now entering upon.

In the first volume, after a description of the gay capital of France, to which a voyager's

attention is first directed, I sought for the peculiar characteristics of the French people. Those characteristics, partly the effect of temperament, but partly likewise the effect of accident and custom, induced me to travel back over such events as it was fair to presume the present generation had been affected by. The state of existing parties, (the postcript to all past history,) furnished me then of necessity with a few pages. But, from the character and history of a people arise certain influences by which present parties, sometimes sensibly, sometimes less visibly, are directed towards the future.

Such influences I ventured to describe. One, however, was omitted; for I felt anxious to trace its power through the organs by which an age expresses itself, before I treated directly of itself. Literature in its various branches, including the press—religion, and those new doctrines which are called philosophies—all furnished me with proofs that the state of property in a country extends over every thing within it. Thus I came to the state of property in France;—and of that I have just been speaking.

Now, it is on the character, on the history, on the state of property in a nation—expressed

in various ways—that the social condition, and the method of government in that nation, depend.

These are the two questions still left to us:

The condition of society—the method of government—in France!

MANNERS.

CHAPTER II.

The sociability of the French—Charm of French society—Descriptions, traits, sayings—Facts.

The first thing that strikes one in social France, is the characteristic sociability of the French people. A Frenchman cannot be alone; he lives for the movement of a crowd and the clang of conversation. You would hardly find, from Calais to Marseilles, three persons of that large class in England, but more especially in Germany, who pass their lives with their own thoughts. No reputation that Frenchmen possess — no situation in which they are, can reconcile them to the loss— not of friendly intercourse with those whom

they esteem and love—that we all prize :—no : what they pine at losing is—the jargon and chatter of a parcel of persons totally indifferent to them. There was Madame de Staël, who saw only, in the success of her works, the filling of her drawing-room*! and so, even in the woods of America, "my countryman," says Lemontey "will often quit his cabin, and take a walk of five hundred leagues, just to have a chat in New Orleans ! !"

The German dislikes conversation, for it distracts him from his meditations. The Englishman dislikes conversation, for it distracts him from his affairs. The Frenchman both thinks and acts, in order to talk about what he has done and reflected upon.

Thus, society is divided into small cliques and classes, where every one, by tacit arrangement, is allowed to speak of himself, and to collect around him a kind of social republic, each member of which takes a conventional interest in the other's affairs. Every circle has its great men, its very great men, and its GENIUS, — like the Chinese, considering all

* "Mon salon redevint peuplée et je retrouverai ce plaisir *de causer à Paris,* qui j'avoue, a toujours été pour moi le plus piquant de tous."

without it but the corners of the world. This renders France the only country, perhaps, where a foreigner, going from place to place, and from house to house, may form a juster estimate of persons and opinions, than a native can do; for the native is less a citizen of his city than of his clique. He sees things through a glass, which can only carry to a particular distance, and which only represents through the medium of a particular colour. Nothing is so happy for inferiority, or so fatal to superiority. The one is flattered into the belief of talent, the other into the belief of perfection. But if the statesman and the author suffer, it is impossible to say, without experience, how much social intercourse gains. Society becomes, in fact, a family, invested with the charm, and yet relieved from the monotony of relationship. The poet feels a pride in the success of the orator, the orator in that of the poet. The mineralogist is enchanted with the discovery of the chemist; and the chemist rejoices in that which has been made by the mineralogist. The beauty takes an interest in the conquests made by her circle, and the chaperone, in the marriages. The stranger who enters a certain drawing-room, finds himself immediately amongst a number of

friends, and becomes, in an instant, if he pleases, the friend of all.

You, who observe the world, will frequently have seen, that no one admires gaiety so much as a person of a serious turn of mind, and that in two bosom friends you may often find the pattern of joviality and ease, and the model of frigidity and formality. I believe there is much of this in the way in which an Englishman is struck by France, and the attachment which, if he reside there, he will be apt to feel for it.

The easy and uncreaking manner in which the world moves on all its hinges, the facility with which you may see every thing that is to be seen, and go to every place that is to be gone to;—the noiseless step with which you glide into the circle accustomed to receive you, and to which you are ushered by no trumpet-sound of invitation; — the carelessness with which you can slip from society into solitude, and from solitude into society, without any question as to where you have been, or any effort to regain your dropped acquaintance;— the familiarity, and yet the variety, which attends your steps, as you drive from house to house, in search of one that shall occupy you for the evening;— the happy way in which

letters, and science, and even politics and the arts, are mingled together in happy and classical confusion;—all this — so different from the well-dressed drudgery with which we toil to keep in sight of a monotonous crowd—the perpetual effort and the perpetual failure to be amused—the miserable Morning Post notoriety which glimmers upon a miserable race, as the substitute for reputation; — all this, which, concentrated, forms a kind of sun for society, and breathes upon it the lazzaroni feeling of careless, voluptuous, independent enjoyment—all this—by the worn, and stiff, and jaded Englishmen—accustomed to nothing of pleasure but the wearisomeness of its chace—is welcomed with a grateful sense of delight, such as he never before experienced, and never afterwards forgets.

There is one difficulty, in a chapter of this kind, which a writer necessarily has to encounter. Some people expect him to depicture every drawing-room he has entered, and as a return for the civility he has met with, to set forth with severity the eccentricities of his hosts:—others again accuse him of frivolity, if he descends from dissertation, and deem that the dignity of an author should elevate him above all descriptions. A miserable and frivolous curiosity I

should be loth to indulge; but my object is to interest all classes of good-natured persons; while I do not deem any thing beneath a writer's attention, which amuses a reader without perverting him, and pourtrays a country without insulting it.

DESCRIPTIONS.

A Public Sitting of the Institute—Eloge funébre.

Behold that old grey-headed academician in spectacles, and that young and smirking coquette in feathers; and that dandy with a gold-headed cane; and that veteran with the grand cross of the legion of honor! But you are not at the Opera—nor at the Théâtre Français—nor at the Variétés. You are at the Institut! At a public sitting of the Institut —and sages and soldiers, and beaux and beauties, are all come to listen to yonder gentleman with a manuscript before him and two glasses of water! Thus it is that science, as smart as fashion, talks to the world with the air of the world, about one of her departed professors. For in France she is not a recluse; the finest gentlemen and ladies are on terms of visiting acquaintance with her.

THE CHAMBER OF PEERS.

This room at one of the extremities of Paris, and in that hotel of the Luxembourg, where the Directory, entering upon their functions with two chairs and a table, maintained the war fearlessly against Europe—is pretty and unimposing, in the form of a semicircle, and surrounded by boxes like a theatre.

Every peer has his chair and his bureau, and from the quiet that reigns on all occasions—state trials excepted—you may guess pretty well that this assembly, though it contains many of the most distinguished men of the day, has no very active share in the government. The most inspiring thing about it, is the Austrian flag, which now once again waves over the president's head, enlivened, to all appearance, by its long sojourn in M. de Semonville's cellar.*

THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

"Monsieur.... *gesticule beaucoup* et *crie*

* These trophies were supposed to have been taken from Paris at the time of the occupation; but no: they had been carefully and secretly—very carefully and secretly preserved by the Grand Référendaire, who, when his patriotism is doubted, appeals to this glorious exhumation.

vivement de sa place ;" from this very common and descriptive phrase, our idea of a French deputy is taken, and if we drew from our imagination, we should paint, as the Chamber of Deputies, an assemblage of little gentlemen, all gesticulating very much, and shrieking from their places, in accompaniment to one gesticulating still more, and shrieking still louder at the tribune. But this would not be a fair portrait. The newspapers which give these descriptions are far more gesticulatory than the orators they describe. The French chamber notwithstanding the "*ici le President sonne*"— "*ici la chambre est en émeute,*" is upon the whole more orderly than ours. No gentleman ever testifies his natural propensity to bray or to crow, nor are there even such violent coughs caught there, as the air of the House of Commons is frequently—and as it seems to me, I confess, sometimes very naturally—impregnated with. The interruptions too, that "the orator" (to use the magnificent expression given the gentleman speaking in France,) meets with—are rather of a nature to animate and draw him on, than to put him out. It is not inattention, but attention which is apt to be noisy. It is only the person accustomed to the agitations of popular assem-

blies who experiences interruption, and he, who if a skilful master of his art, has frequently studied how to procure a remark, a contradiction, or a smile, gladly seizes the occasion to bring forth as an impromptu retort, the more elaborate part of his discourse.

What would our discussions appear, if the countenances of the audience were watched, and its whispers noted?—"Here Mr. O'Connell frowned,"—"Here Lord Stanley started,"—"Here Sir Robert Peel looked attentive,"—"Here Lord John Russell smiled,"—"movement of impatience to the left"—"movement of anger to the right," "the House much agitated,"—the speaker evidently affected, cried "*order* three times in a sonorous voice." The difference is more in the reporting than the proceedings. The ringing of the bell to be sure is indecorous, and the president's manner too much that of a schoolmaster, who says, "hold your tongue! be quiet sir! don't talk! mind your lesson!" etc. The tribune, also, though less formal than one imagines it, still gives a theatrical and rhetorical tone to the discussion, which is admirably avoided in the simplicity of our own debates.

FRENCH ELOQUENCE.

The style of French eloquence, indeed, in this popular assembly, is that which strikes an English listener the most, because it is what he least expects, or is least accustomed to. With the exception of Monsieur Dupin, who, with a good deal of pedantry, mixes up the ease and abruptness of our own way of speaking, reminding you, now of Lord Brougham, and now of Mr. O'Connell,—with the exception of M. Dupin, and I must add M. Thiers, who carries into discussion all that is witty, brilliant, and striking in conversation—with these two exceptions, the parliamentary men of France proceed with a stately and solemn march, totally inconsistent with our ideas of the most frivolous, and lively, and volatile people upon earth.

Certainly it would be very difficult for any one who read the two discourses translated into German, and who was acquainted solely with the characters of the two countries, to believe that Lord Brougham's light-hearted and passionate effusion on Reform was delivered by the Lord Chancellor of England, or that Monsieur Royer Collard's profound metaphysical disquisition on the peerage was the popular speech of the Chamber of Deputies. The two

nations, on crossing the threshold of their representative assemblies, seem to exchange characters. The life, the animation, the action of the French citizen passes into the English orator. The cold, abstruse, and deeply reflective spirit of the English philosopher transmigrates into the volatile person of the French statesman. And this is to be remarked—even in the first French Revolution, (except in moments of peculiar excitement, when men were striving for their lives, rather than contending for any legislative theory,) the same cold and philosophic tone was perceptible. The usual style of the passionate and impetuous Mirabeau himself, whose character and energy were rather displayed in short, abrupt, and timely exclamations, such as the reply to M. de Brezé, than in lengthened discourses, wore so much the appearance of the calm meditation of the closet, that he was commonly accused of repeating the lectures of Monsieur Dumont.

How is it that the character and the eloquence of a people are in such direct opposition? To say that the orator reads in the French chamber and extemporizes in ours, is not sufficient, since most of the French speak extempore, without any *very apparent* preme-

ditation. Besides if the Ex-cathedrâ species of oratory were not in some degree conformable with the genius of the place, it would not occasionally be received and admired there. To account for this, we must remember, that—that love for detail, and that passion for generalities by which the two countries are respectively characterized, are singularly remarkable in their respective constitutions. In England, the progress of improvement has been slow and piecemeal; we have added on a little here, we have cut off a little there, and we have continued mending, and sometimes though not frequently, adding, from casual motives of expediency. We have argued upon legislative questions as upon turnpike acts, but with one exception only, we have never solved the elements of society in order to recompose it. We have never taken abstract views of our form of Government, and attempted to base it on general principles. Even in moments of change, we have adopted the language of Burke, and considering our constitution "a sacred legacy," rather asserted the justice of restoration than the necessity of improvement.

It rarely happened, therefore, previous to the few last years, that in the questions

agitated, there was wherewithal to engross the whole mind and faculties of the statesman, or deeply to excite the attention of the assembly or the public. Doddington's Diary furnishes us with amusing instances of the manner in which an opposition went about looking for a grievance. The subjects ordinarily brought forward derived their importance less from themselves than from the opportunity they afforded to two parties of delivering battle. The excitement was in the strife, and not in its cause. A personal, passionate, amusing way of speaking, therefore, naturally introduced itself, without the charm and colour of which a debate would frequently have resembled Uncle Tom's dispute with nephew John on the difference between a chesnut horse and a horse chesnut.

In France, on the contrary, when the builder in 1789 took the trowel into his hands, the first stone of the building was not laid. The principle on which it was to be deposited and consecrated was the subject of long deliberation. The rights of man were declared, before any attempt to deduce social happiness and political power from them was made. There was enough in the gigantic questions

which started every instant into discussion, to fill the mind of the politician, and to arrest the attention of those to whom he was communicating new and important truths. A philosophical treatise was wanted, rather than a spirited harangue; and it was only at the fall of the Girondists, when principles were forgotten and persons were contending—less indeed to obtain the honors of the state than to escape the revolutionary scaffold—that we find frequent specimens of another eloquence in those beautiful and impassioned bursts—one of which escaped from Madame Roland's unfortunate admirer, who vainly hoped and declared that his voice—"qui plus d'une fois avait porté la terreur dans ce palais d'où elle avait précipité la tyrannie, la porterait aussi dans l'âme des scélérats qui voulaient substituer leur tyrannie à celle de la royauté."

A BALL AT THE TUILERIES.

You drive into the court-yard, get out at one of the great doors. The staircase to the right is broad and straight, with two columns at the top. The suite of rooms you enter are fine. The first, white and plain; the second, sur-

rounded by a kind of balcony and pannelled with the pictures of different maréchals. The third, very large and handsome and leading to another that contains a velvet canopy and throne; the fifth is the last.

Before you is company—such as it is described—of a mixed kind; "one might fancy oneself in Heaven," said a lady near me—"for there also, there is no distinction of persons."

This is abused and sneered at; very ignorantly and ridiculously as it seems to me. A gentleman or nobleman has *his* society; but a king is of all societies. He is the head of the nation and not the head of a clique.

At all events these balls represent France* and the epoch, and are interesting on that account.

A MINISTER'S RECEPTION.

Here you are struck, in most cases, by the splendid hotel of the minister, and the manner, simple and plain of the man. In fact you see two parts of society, the manners of old times and the ideas of new, but ill-joined together.

There is not a courtier but speaks the lan-

* The most magnificent balls were those of Charles the Tenth—the best regulated and acted, Bonaparte's.

guage of a republican, nor a republican who does not sit on a chair rich with the luxury of Louis XV.

The ministers of one end of the town receive one night, those of the other end another. The same troop rushes from salon to salon—diplomats and deputies, generals and procureurs généraux.

But the person for whom these soirées are really wanted is —the provincial gentleman, who would honestly imagine that no government existed, if he could not see it, and talk to it, and court it.

The bow and the smile he receives is hailed as 'la loi vivante,' and he enters the court yard of the president of the council with the same sacred feeling of security, with which he lays his hand upon the code of the constitution.

A MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITION.

Monsieur —— lives *au troisième* in a small apartment, the salon of which opens, as is frequent in France, to the *chambre à coucher*. Every thing is as decent and simple as possible in the furniture and arrangement of the apart-

ment, and there is an air of respectability about it and the owner, completely English.*

"Did you read my article in the National?" "I ought to know, for I was in the last campaign in Spain, and I say that the army is in a state of the most deplorable insubordination." "We have nothing to do with her, (the Duchess de Berri) she ought to be taken before the proper tribunals." "Oui, la dissection était très-belle"—"of course you have a box for Victor Hugo's new drama"—were the mingled sounds that I once heard, and which proceeding from no common assemblage of journalists, generals, deputies, doctors, lawyers, and men of letters, gave an idea of the manner in which professions in France are intermingled, as well as of the ranks of which the opposition is composed.

BEAUTY OF THE EMPIRE.

The apartment of Madame —— filled with large fauteuils, beautiful porcelaine, bookcases, statues, bronzes, etc. is a model of

* Monsieur —— is altogether worthy of his reputation; moderate, sagacious, active, eloquent, and liked by all parties, though known to be devoted to his own. On Madame, at once remarkable for her virtue, her wit, and her charms, even a still longer eulogium might be written.

luxury and good taste. The lady herself equally celebrated for her manners and her wit, and exercising at one time no inconsiderable influence, retains many of the charms and all the originality for which she was once distinguished. Never was person more quick, more vivacious, more powerful, or more extraordinary in conversation.

She jumps upon a subject, kicks it here, and kicks it there; thumps it about, without respect and in all directions; then she stops breathless, and before you can collect yourself for reply, seizes another subject and treats it in the same manner. Nothing can be compared to her eloquence, her fire, her manner of deciding a question in a phrase, or painting a person by a word. A stranger, however, might be startled to hear her speak of Bonaparte.

Oh! le petit homme il était charmant! dents comme des perles, toutes petites, toutes petites—des mains mignonnes—il se parfumaît —oh! il était gentil, il était gourmand—le petit homme!

THE SUCCESSFUL JOURNALIST.

Monsieur de —— first hit upon a method, since become common, of making his fortune

by a paper. He announced formally, that a society of good royalists was formed, with a journal—his own journal of course, for their organ. The society was generous, prizes were to be given for the best essays, the literary youth of France were invited to enter a noble field of competition, and the less lettered gentlemen of wealth were also invited to subscribe funds for this very laudable undertaking.

Such was the project announced during the restoration, and when loyalty was at its height. The prospectus took, contributions flowed in, the society received and answered a very flowery and golden correspondence—and who formed the society? and who wrote the journal? and who received the subscriptions? and who gained the prizes?

Monsieur de —— alone formed the society; Monsieur de —— alone wrote the journal; Monsieur de —— alone touched the subscriptions; Monsieur de —— alone gained the prizes.

A GENTLEMAN OF THE OLD REGIME.

The Marquis de ——, with powdered hair and a great deal of very fine linen, was all the fashion in the time of Louis XVI, and saw Mme. Dubarri dine with Louis XV.

"What do you think of society now and society then, Marquis?"

"For society—to those who lived when I did, there is no society now. How can there be, when here was my young friend, (bowing to a young gentleman opposite) who was near cutting my throat just now, because we do not quite agree in political opinions? When I was a young man, Sir, the only thought and occupation was—how shall we most amuse ourselves? All the wit, all the talent, all the energy, which is now working itself out in such a variety of ways, was then concentrated in creating pleasure." "And luxury, Marquis?" "How can you talk of luxury?—the only luxurious creature of modern society that I remember, is gone, disappeared altogether. The courtezan is as antideluvian as the mammoth. In my time she kept her carriages, had her most beautiful and classically epicurean apartment, or her delightful *petite maison;* where she gave *soirées* far more difficult to get to, than those of the queen. She studied the art of giving pleasure as a science; every thing about her breathed that *volupté* and that desire to which she devoted herself—and then her conversation was as piquant as her person!"

"But how did she support all this extravagance?" "Oh! she lived either with a gambler or a grand seigneur." "I remember your father, Monsieur de—— saying, when he had lost everything—*au moins puis-je garder Julie et un cabriolet!*" "The Prince de Soubise, in my time, kept seven figurantes who had each their allotted night. He allowed them lovers in the meantime, but they were peremptorily to be of the noblesse. Poor Ségur, I remember, was very much in love with one of them, Mlle. Adèle. "Oh! Prince," said some one to him, "if you knew the pain you give poor Ségur every Tuesday!" "*Mais qu'a-t-il donc?*" "*Il aime Adèle.*" "*Quels enfans! et pourquoi ne me l'ont ils pas dit? Elle ne viendra plus jusqu'à ce que cela soit passé—cela passera.*"

A NOTARY.

Is my English reader a ward in chancery? if so, he has been more than once in Lincoln's-Inn. What comfortless chambers are those of his most respectable solicitor!

Well, he goes to Paris to a small entresol in a large hotel! He is shewn into a little boudoir;—the table is covered with splendid pieces of

Sêvres, and the chimney-piece loaded with ormoulu. A book-case surmounted by every variety of Venus, fronts the chimney, and contains the most richly bound, and the most splendid gilt books in the world.

Is he at his lady's?—no; he is at his lawyers —who will be with him in five minutes in the splendidly brocaded dressing-gown of the courtier of Louis XV.

A LITERARY LADY.

Climb up two or three pair of stairs—pull the bell at a small door—and enter a little room, simple and in good taste. There is a doctor, a couple of journalists, a poet, a bookseller, and a mathematician! The doctor cures his patients by magnetism; the journalist intends saving his country by a war, a bankruptcy, and the guillotine; the poet writes long romances, which he calls lyrics; the bookseller despises Walter Scott and Lord Byron, but respects the manner in which they are printed. The mathematician is a clever man and makes love to the lady; and the lady, half poet, half journalist, half physiologist, half author, and half coquette, talks to the doctor about magnetism, to the journalist about guillotining, to the poet about romances, to the bookseller

about printing, to the mathematician about love, and to the last visitor about all these.

A PHILOSOPHIC MODIST.

The Demoiselle F..... modist, aged twenty years, living Rue du Faubourg St. Martin, had contracted the bad habit of play. Gay and pretty, she had many adorers, and some had presented money with their heart; but her passion for play was such, that in less than three years she lost 60,000 francs. She then began to sell her furniture; and alas! the more her distress was known, the less pressing her lovers became. At last, too idle to work, and too distressed to live without it, she determined to put an end to her existence, and chose the first day of the year for her project.

But before lighting the charcoal, she wrote the following letter to her mother:—

"My dear Mamma,

"The year just passed has been to me a very "unhappy one—I hope that the one now com- "mencing will bring you those consolations "you stand in need of. You know, my dear "mamma, that for some time past my re- "sources have been daily diminishing. It is

" painful to live in privation after one has been " accustomed to luxury. It is disagreeable to " work after one has been free, and accustomed " from early youth, to follow one's pursuits, and " one's pleasures. Then forgive me, my dear " mamma, if having lost all those advantages " I ought to have been careful of—I do not " now want to sigh over my misfortunes.

" Alas! my pen refuses to obey my will, " or I would paint to you all my past tribu- " lations. But death is waiting for me, and " I shall be gone before midday. So I kiss " you, my dear mamma, as I love you, that is " to say, with all my soul.

" Your respectful daughter,

" JOSEPHINE ——.

" *Paris, Jan.* 1, 1835."

—*Gazette des Tribunaux.*

A WISE COCHER DE CABRIOLET.

" They want to make me join them, Sir, in their émeutes and nonsense.

" Ma foi," I said to myself, " Et qu'est-

ce que tu as été, toi, sous l'empire ?" " cocher de cabriolet." — " And under Charles X ?" " cocher de cabriolet." — " And under Louis-Philippe ? " " cocher de cabriolet ;"—" And if there were a republic, what would you be ?" " cocher de cabriolet. Alors que la dynastie aille comme elle pourra. Je ne m'en mêlerai point, moi qui ne serai jamais que cocher de cabriolet."*

A MILITARY PORTER.

" I met my porter, yesterday," said a gay officer to me, " my porter, who is an old soldier of the '*vieille garde*' with my sword in his hand." " It is as bright now as ever it was," said he. " I did not know it had ever been soiled," said I. " Alas ! yes, Sir, I had some words yesterday with a carabineer ; we met in

* " Faith," I said to myself, " and what have you been—you—under the empire ?" " cocher de cabriolet."—And under Charles X ?" " cocher de cabriolet."—" And under Louis-Philippe ?" " cocher de cabriolet ;"—" and if there was a republic, what would you be ?" " cocher de cabriolet. Then let the dynasty go on as it will. I'll not meddle with it, who will always be—cocher de cabriolet."

the morning, and this weapon that you see passed through his body.

" Pauvre garçon ! il est tombé là raide mort."

TRAITS.

IMPORTANT NEWS.

" My dear Cecile,

" THE FATHER left yesterday the port of " Marseilles, in the ship called ' Le Prince " Héréditaire.' The captain's name is Vianello. " You first announced to me his DEPARTURE " from *prison*. I announce to you his DEPAR- " TURE from *the west*.

" THE FATHER has quitted *the west!*.... " let this great fact resound in the ears of all " men and of all women ! ! !—

" &c. &c. &c. &c.

" RODREGUER BARRAULT.

" *24th September, year of the mother.**"

A READING.

This kind of demi-publicity still continues, and keeps the vanity of the author in breath until he has finished his work. If he is writing a tragedy, he will read it scene by scene; if a novel, chapter by chapter.

* Copied verbatim.

Nobody is invited who is not a good admirer, except on very rare occasions. I remember one of these—a gentleman had written a comedy which he thought too indecent for the stage—and in order to make up his mind, invited the most modest of his female acquaintance to hear it.

A PENSION.

The persons one meets at these places are on an average—a French colonel on half-pay—an English shopkeeper—a couple of journalists—and a respectable old English lady with three daughters.

The English mother does not know French, and has gone to a '*pension*' in order that her daughter may learn it. The French colonel sits at dinner between the two—and seduces the simpering girl under the mother's unsuspecting apron.

THE ENGLISH AT THE CAFÉ DE PARIS.

I remember being seated at the window of this café near a very decent English family. "Very good chicken! capital wine! it's Volney," says the gentleman, "Volney, you know

my dear, (very loud!) called after the famous traveller."*

* I would not pass by this subject without one or two words of regret given to my unfortunate countrymen. Go to Calais, Boulogne; any of the British-visiting provincial towns, or even to Paris itself, and see the queer figures who are passing themselves off as models of English elegance. Just look at their pinched up, or broadened out brim'd hats, their indescribably cut coats, their whiskers, their mustachoes, their swagger, their ignorance, their insolence, and recollect to your horror that the costume, and the ton that would hardly be tolerated in Burlington Arcade or Covent Garden saloon, are very soberly considered by the French people who have never passed the channel as a fair specimen of the tip-top taste and breeding of their outlandish neighbours. Again, pass where you will on the continent, and be sure, if anything very extraordinary, very ridiculous, very impertinent be done, be sure it is one of your countrymen who has the honor of doing it! If any man live in more scandalous indecency than the habits even of Italy will allow, be sure it is a native of that country which prides itself on its especial prudery and morality. If any body be noted for a greater freedom of language, and a more unconscionable incontinency than another, ten to one but it is a lady of that land which is so proud of the modest purity of its women.

England abroad and England at home, thank heaven! are in this respect two countries as different as Kamchatka and Otaheiti. People of all sexes and all classes seem to take a pride in convincing the world, that they change their skins with their climate, and that if they conduct

DUELS OF THE CHAMBER.

You can buy what are called "les balles de député." These balls evaporating in the air, are sure to do no mischief to the senatorial combatants. Was there ever such a criticism on the age? *Men fight for honor* and *cheat it.*

SAYINGS.

CARLISM.

Cette pauvre princesse (the Duchess of Berri) elle donnait de si jolis bals! such is the attachment of one half the Faubourg to the heroine of la Vendée.

LOVE OF NATURE.

A young Frenchman was abusing Italy as nothing extraordinary.—"Ah!" said Madame —"you were not there when M. de Laval was minister."

CONJUGAL VIRTUE.

"La vertu d'une femme mariée, c'est de garder son amant même quand il lui déplaît."

themselves with decency and propriety in May Fair and Fleet Street, they can be guilty of every species of indecorum when in sight of the Champs Elysées and the Coliseum.

OBEDIENCE.

"Certainly," said a young lady, very seriously, to one then about to be married — "Les femmes doivent obéir dans les petites choses, mais les hommes assurément dans les grandes."

ABSENCE.

"I do not love my husband enough to leave him."

ANCESTRY.

"Je me moque de mes ancêtres ; jugez donc, mon cher, ce que je dois faire des vôtres."*

TYRANNY.

"What a tyranny we live under!" says a gay carlist. "And where have you just come from, Sir?" "Oh! from Prague; two hundred of us went to offer our homage to Henry V." "And is this generally known?" "Certainly, every body knows it."

"To be sure it is a terrible tyranny you live under."

TIES OF RELATIONSHIP.

An enraged husband was about to slay the lover of his wife—"Arrête, malheureux!" cried the lady, "Tu vas tuer le père de tes enfans."†

* I laugh at my own ancestors, judge then, my dear fellow, what I might do with yours.

† Stop, unhappy man! you are about to kill the father of your children.

PARAGRAPHS THAT SUCCEEDED EACH OTHER IN A NEWSPAPER.

STATISTIQUE—LEGION OF HONOUR.

Difference between 1831 & 1833

Great crosses .	7
Grand officers .	12
Commanders .	99
Officers . . .	419
Chevaliers .	5,831

INSTRUCTION PRIMAIRE.

There are in France 1,935,000 children, who receive primary instruction, There are 41,000 schools; and upwards of 11, private.

LES ENFANS DE MARSEILLES.

A report of M. le Maire de Marseilles, relates to us the grave inconveniences and accidents that result from the pitched battles fought daily between the two parties among THE CHILDREN *in different quarters of the town.*

MODES

We omit
by mistake,
our last nun
to speak of
dress which
Queen wore
the court
WE HASTEN
repair this e
Not only
Her Maje
toilette mag
cent but eleg
The gown w
WHITE SATIN
BROIDERED
ROSES, &c.

Then follows a list of the Jury for the department of the Seine.

Surely these paragraphs thus running and blended together, give no bad picture of France as it is.—Her impetuous youth, her military honours, her primary instruction, her jury list, and then—*the gown embroidered with roses ! ! !*

Thus have I sketched, as illustrations to my subject, two or three scenes and portraits, and even noted a few traits and observations. I will now throw together a few facts.

Of books published in 1833, I find	
Poetry of different kinds . .	275
Modern law, the sciences, natural history, and administrations .	532
Romances, Novels, and translations of the same	355
Histories, narratives and the like	213
Philosophy, metaphysics . .	102
Travels and fine arts . . .	170
Devotion, Theology, etc. . .	235
Theatrical pieces in verse and prose	179
Foreign books of different languages	604
Pamphlets, libels, prospectus' and speeches	4,346
Total	7,011

What do we see here?—in the first place, an enormous appetite for momentary and frivolous discussion; that one expected;—but by the side of it behold a love for the sciences, for natural history, and the theories of government, which we might have supposed less general amongst so volatile and excitable a people!

Then again, novels, poetry, and the drama, those branches of literature that, judging from the surface of things, we should have deemed most in abundance, furnish less than metaphysics, devotion, history, and the arts.

Novels, etc. including translations	355
Poetry	275
Drama	179
	709
Metaphysics	109
Devotion	235
History	213
The arts	170
	720

And now if we take the theatres! there we find the returns of:

The Opera, (dancing and French music.)
The Porte St. Martin, (Mélodrame.)
Vaudeville.
Variétés. } little farces.
Gymnase.

to be as much as the twelve other theatres of Paris, including the Théâtre Français, the Opéra Comique, and the Italian Opera put together.

Turn we to the Institut! who are the candidates?

M. Châteauneuff,* an historian.

M. de Salvandy, a very remarkable periodical writer.†

And M. Scribe, the well known and happy farce writer—on this occasion as on others successful.

In the exposition at the same time, I remark—nor is this unuseful in tracing the habits of a population—

15,000 clocks, average price 250 francs
40,000 pairs of flambeaux . 20 „
3,000 do candalabres . . 200 „

* Author of "the History of the great Captains."
† The author of "Alonzo," which also had four editions, and of "the History of Poland."

60,000 glass cylinders . .	10 frs.
Lustres and lamps to the value of	1,000,000
Small articles of bronze . .	1,800,000
More costly do	2,000,000

In all this, there is a strange mixture of different and opposing qualities, such as are to be found in a nation not moulded in a day, but which on the contrary, has passed through a variety of changes, and presents in its molten mass, a variegated and heterogenous composition. We see old tastes by the side of new, and new tastes, which almost seem incompatible with the old !

The everlasting appetite for scandal and science!

The love for the melodrame and the joke!

The struggle between history, metaphysics, and farce!

The luxury of tastes, and the mediocrity of fortunes.

YOUNG FRANCE.

CHAPTER III.

Modern Cataline—Journalist—Dramatist—Suicide—Son of a tallow-chandler—Monsieur Marmote Fathay—Baron de———Royalist—Doctrinaire—Artist—Young Doctors, and Philosophers of the hour.

Let us see! There has been a conspiracy. Who are at the bar? a cabinet maker, a certain number of shoemakers, a locksmith, a painter, a button-maker, an engraver, a shopkeeper, a doctor, and a lady, whose more peaceful occupation is to sit at the counter of a café. All eyes are of course turned upon the lady and the chief of this terrible band, whose plots have disquieted the dreams of the good citizen King, and exercised the arms of his valorous national guard.

Come forth most renowned Cataline! "Who

are you?" "I am the son of a prolétaire, (peasant). I belong to that class which the rich repudiate and misunderstand. My temper is irritable and nervous;—chafing at little obstacles—calm before a battalion with fixed bayonets. I do not know so much as I should wish to know, for education is not gratuitous in France.

"You ask me my life.—A boy, enlisting as volunteer, I fought under Napoleon's eagles. The restoration came, I returned to my father's cottage, and shared the rude labours of the old man. From that cottage, the Revolution of July called me. The charter was violated. I wished for a republic. Wounded on the 28th, I leaped into the Louvre on the 29th. — In the Tuileries, a sabre-cut maimed this hand. In the rue de Rohan, a ball entered this shoulder. As I behaved in July, so I behaved in June."

President. "You are accused at that time of homicide with premeditation."

Republican. "I know it."

President. "You ran about the streets, shouting 'To arms!'"

Republican. "Yes."

President. "Did you distribute cartouches?"

Republican. "When they were wanted."

President. "Did you not fire upon a battalion of the line?"

Republican. "I traversed with ten comrades the whole of the first line. Eight fell, and I retired by the street."

Such are the answers of a slight young man, with hollow cheeks, penetrating eyes, and black moustaches.

He had fought for a republic. What did he want? A government without appointments, without taxes. Things, he thought, would go well, if left to themselves.*

Here is one of your "Young France," a type of that reckless and imaginative youth, ever ready to rush on the cannon.

Born of poor parents, with but little education, of daring character, impracticable ideas and good intentions; — consumed by unemployed energies and dissatisfied ambition.

Requiring action from his temperament;— the very soul of a state at war;—a canker into its repose in peace.

Let us turn to another class and another type!

"It happened to me," says M. Janin, "as it has happened to all men of letters, present

* See National, 30th October, 1832.

and past—I entered a literary career without knowing it, and without wishing it. I was a writer in ignorance that I did write;—by necessity, as every body is."

"Oh! I remember my mother, her cottage by the Rhône side, and the diligence which carried me to Paris, on a speculation; for my father, and my uncles, and all my family thought me a real prodigy, and so did the ladies of my village, to whom I wrote verses, and who said that all I wanted was,—a little education.

"Thus was I sent to the "*famous*" college—(for my friends were determined that every chance should be in my favour)—to the "*famous*" college—which had gained the prize that year and which I and my friends considered it a matter of course that I should gain the year following.

"I passed three years at that college, did not gain the prize, and learned little for my pains;—that is to say, I learned neither mathematics, nor languages, nor history, nor indeed any kind of literary lore; but I learned something, I confess, of the world's lore;—for I learned how one makes friends, and how one keeps them, and also with how little science, and how little merit, and how little industry one may get on in life.

"This, after all, was no despicable kind of knowledge. My comrades had friends, and prospects dependant on friends. What alas! has become of most of them?*

"I had no expectations, no friends, beyond the walls of that memory-haunted place—no friends, save an old grand-aunt, eighty years old, who, hobbling along, the dear old creature! by the aid of her hooked stick, came, at last, to take me to her garret, *au quatrième*, to which she had brought all our old country furniture,—the chairs, the table, and the little sofa and bed, the very same I knew so well;—and there we lived four happy years of my life:—Oh! what four happy years those were! How many passions given to the wind! how much useless poesy! what sighs wafted to the clouds!

* "Some bandied on the sea, slain in battle; some fell in Greece, taken by surprise; many have fallen in the Bois de Boulogne, by a sword's stab in a corner behind a tree; others again have lost their memory;—and then, what a host have perished by different modes of suicide—the vaudeville, the song, the epic, the hazard table, and love.

"I saw them on the threshold of our college, I saw them quit it so beautiful! so laughing! so gay! so full of youthful folly.

"Let us pray for them!"

what labour too, to gain my little livelihood as I could!*

"Those years passed by me like a day. I desired nothing, I feared nothing, I envied nothing. Living with my friends, having now and then with them a joyous and savoury repast, happy in the happiness of my old aunt and sticking up against the wall, when I could buy them, great red and blue daubs which I thought very beautiful, and which were called Greeks then, as they would be called Poles now.

"That was life!! and what heroines! with what names! Alexandrina, Rose, Lili,—German, Spanish, French,—great lady, or little grisette—all suited us.

"Thus I and those like me lived from day to day, trusting to chance; with little effort, no variety, and but slight privations.

* "In the first place, I gave lessons, at so much a lesson I taught a thousand things I knew little about; for instance Latin, Greek, History, Geography, and heaven knows what besides; I'd have taught Hebrew or Syriac, if I had been asked; any thing but mathematics. Mathematics one cannot teach without knowing them, and this is why I have ever had a great respect for mathematics.

I made my scholars understand little from my lessons but they taught somebody—they taught myself."

"But I meant to speak of my entry into literature, how was it? Many volumes could be written on a literary life in France! I mean merely to write of my own. It is short, *but it will give a pretty good idea of the literary life of my epoch.*

"One evening, I remember it well, I was walking backwards and forwards before that theatre, which I then thought the perfection of the dramatic art, "l'Opéra Comique," revolving in my mind, with no small degree of agitation, whether I would or would not give the 44 sous, that the Opéra Comique at that time exacted at its portal.

"At this critical moment, whom should I see but a young man, whose acquaintance I had made in the Luxembourg, by my dog making the acquaintance of his dog, and who had then under his arm, the arm of an elegant and beautiful lady. What were my feelings when he proposed to me a place in his box, a place by the side of that elegant and beautiful lady, who was no less,—my heart thrilled, than a singer at the opera!

"My friend was a journalist—his happiness decided my profession: I became a journalist too; and a journalist I shall die, because I

was walking one beautiful summer's eveni
before the door of the Opéra Comique*.

" It is but the first step that makes us fear
in a balloon, on a railroad, as the editor of
paper;—there you are seated comfortably a
calm; and there is the crowd below you, tre
bling and affrighted—*voilà tout !*

" Our age is the age of free thought, of inc
pendence—our age is the age of the press
the golden age for the periodical writer. Hap
then, and proud am I to belong to that pre
to be a periodical writer.

* Not that I complain, in saying this, of a liter
life. I am far from being so ungrateful towards
noblest career in this age of liberty. A literary life
France has, at all times, been a life apart and ami
the grandeurs of the world; it is better than that nc
it is a life apart amidst the powers of the world.

The man of letters is what the Grand Seigneur v
They have both taken their place in our institution
they are both citizens, but citizens out of the crowd
spite of the crowd—citizens apart—citizen aristocrats
say the truth, by passion, by sentiment, by thought,
by reputation.

The man of letters of to-day, has, with his pen
existence assured and gained quite as much as has
advocate, or the notary.

The constitution could not exist without debates
discussions of all kinds, for and against!

"When I commenced, what existed in France had an immense appearance. It appeared a universe to a gay journalist of twenty. Well, it is all gone—all—vanished—gone, heaven knows where—gone, and devoured by the journal, that power so frail and dwarfish when I commenced my career, exposed as it was to the arbitrary will of a censor, who would cut you off a thought as an executioner does a head.

"By what ruins am I surrounded! What a gulph between the time when I first mended my pen to write, and now when I take it up to trace the recollection of things gone by!

The journal to-day is more than a want, it is a duty. It is a necessity of every morning, of every evening, of every hour. The journal is the reproduction of a whole life, public, literary, philosophic, taking all the shades of society, from the first to the last. This power guides at will, and violently, every one and every thing: power inexorable, devouring itself when it has nought else to feed upon! Do you know how many writers, active, passionate, and devoted, it requires to suffice for all its exigencies, and all its wants, and all its life?

Do you know into what a gulph without bottom, are thrown at every instant such a multitude of passions, of ideas, of paradoxes, of follies, of every thing which is engendered by the heart, soul, passion, vices, and virtues of mankind?"

"At first, I was a writer unknown, a writer of the opposition by epigram—harrassing and attacking the ministers, of whom I knew little, and who knew less of me. Later, I rose from the little newspaper to the great newspaper—from the popular journal to the aristocratic journal, always the same man, in spite of what people have thought proper to say, always of the opposition, now here and now there.

"They who reproach me with having passed from one paper to another, cannot reproach me with having changed from one opinion to another; always attacking whatever I thought strong; the enemy of the powerful; never guided in my hostilities by my interest, and ever quitting that side which became the victorious one. This is why I left my little liberal journal of the opposition when it triumphed under M. Martignac; this is why I left my great royalist journal of opposition the day that M. Polignac came into power.

"Opposition has been my life as to others is the support of power."*

Such is the most popular journalist's description of his life and opinions.

* This writer seems to consider that to be always in the opposition is always to be consistent, and that it matters not what you oppose.

And now we will pass from the journalist to the dramatist—to the criticised from the critic;—and here again we find a gentleman his own biographer.

"I was not twenty years old when my mother one morning entered my room, came to my bedside, kissed me weeping and said—

" 'Mon ami, je viens de vendre tout ce que nous avions pour payer nos dettes*.'

" 'Eh bien! ma mère?'†

" 'Eh bien! my poor child, our debts paid, there remains to us 253 francs—'

" 'A year?'

My mother smiled bitterly—

" 'In all?' said I.

" 'In all.'

" 'Well, my mother, I will take the fifty-three francs and start this evening for Paris.'

" 'And what will you do there, mon pauvre ami?'

" 'I'll see the friends of my father, the Duc de Bellune, Sébastiani, Jourdan.'

" 'Do as you will,' said my mother, kissing me once more—'perhaps it's the inspiration of God'—and she went out.

* "My child, I have just sold everything we had to pay our debts."

† "Well, my mother."

"My first visit was to Marshal Jourdan; he had some vague recollection of my father, it is true; but had never heard that he had a son. I left him in ten minutes, very imperfectly convinced of my existence.

"I next went to General Sébastiani.

"The General was in his 'cabinet de travail;' four or five secretaries were writing under his dictation, each of whom had upon his bureau, besides his pen, his paper, and his pen-knife, a gold snuff-box, which he presented to the general whenever he stopped before him in those perambulations which, like the *malade imaginaire*, he conducted across his chamber now in one direction, now in the other.

"My visit was short, whatever might be my consideration for the general, I had no wish to become his snuff-box bearer.

"The day after, I presented myself at General Foy's—

"I was introduced into his library; he was then occupied with his History of the Peninsular War. At the moment I entered, he was writing on one of those tables which lift up and down at pleasure; scattered around him were speeches, maps, and half open volumes.

"Turning round with his accustomed vivacity, on hearing the door of his sanctuary open,

he fixed his penetrating eyes on me—I trembled.

" ' Monsieur * * * * * * ? ' said he, ' are you son of the General who commanded the army of the Alps ?'

" ' Yes, general.'

" ' *C'était un brave.* What can we make of you ?'

" ' Any thing you like, General.'

The next day I returned to the hotel of the General, he was my sole hope.

" ' Eh bien,' said he, your business is settled. You are supernumerary clerk with an appointment of 1,200 francs per annum*, in the office of the Duke of Orleans !"

This is the opening scene in the theatrical life of one of the first writers of the French stage.† But there are other pretenders less fortunate.

"A few days ago," says a late journal, "a body was dragged from the Seine, near Pont St. Nicholas, the dead body of a young man aged twenty years. It was the body of a young poet, by name—Jules Mercier. In his pocket was found an elegy entitled, ' *A Emma*,' and bearing the date of April last.

* About £50. † M. Alexandre Dumas.

"At the bottom of the elegy was the following note—'This piece ought to have been part of a collection that my editor should publish immediately.'

"It is now about a month," continues the journal, "since a young man presented himself at our bureau, and asked to speak to the editor of our paper. The editor was absent, and one of our contributors received him.

"He was a young man, about twenty years old, with a countenance pale, interesting, and betraying suffering. This young man was—Jules Mercier.

"He offered with a timid air a little roll of paper; the roll contained some verses, entitled, 'To Lelia!' These verses we could not receive, having already, a few days before, inserted some on the same subject, and bearing the same title. A week after, the young man returned, bringing another set of verses, which he begged us to admit; though the space they would occupy was considerable.

"This piece was called "The Gulph." We promised that it should be examined.

"The young poet seemed well satisfied, and promised to come the next day and receive our observations.

"We expected him the next day — he did not come. We are never to see him more."

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

But what dark and cadaverous gentleman is yonder, with a slight moustache, pointed beard and tuft, and long hair, stuck up in the middle and combed down on each side, so as to hang upon his shoulders?

That gothic chevalier is the son of a tallow chandler, corner of rue St. Denis. He does not think that the reign of chivalry is gone. No! but that he, the son of the tallow chandler, has become the chevalier.

Thus, here and there the prestige of an aristocracy remains; but then every one thinks he may be an aristocrat.

Just listen!—

Monsieur Marmote Fathay, the respectable son of a respectable bookseller, publishes some poems. 'Fathay,' pronounced 'Fatty' is a most unpoetical name, and the poems have little success. What happens?

Behold, in a new edition, ‘ Fathay,’ odious appellation! has disappeared, ‘ de’ is before the ‘ Marmote,’ and ‘ Alphonse’ before the ‘ de,’ and read instead of ‘ Poems by Marmote Fathay,’—

‘ Poems by Alphonse de Marmote.’ Alphonse de Marmote! Who would dream that a name so aristocratic and so sonorous should have been formuled, (I use the French expression) from plain Marmote Fathay, the plebeian signature of a good-natured young bookseller.

But so it is, and half the world who doubt in christianity believe firmly in the nominal identity of—

“ Alphonse de Marmote!”

Nor is this a singular transmogrification!

I was sitting the other day at the café de Paris; a tilbury with red wheels drove up to it, and a gentleman, with a Brobdignagian beard and whiskers to match, descended therefrom.

His hat, of singular shape, was nicely balanced on one side of his head, displaying an immense *chevelure* on the other. His

coat built about the skirts in the stern fashion of a Dutch frigate, was '*bleu de ciel.*'* His waistcoat, as variegatedly dazzling as a well shaken kaleidescope, opened in the middle to display a green satin neckcloth, be-pinned and be-chained from the top to the bottom like a lady's stomacher. This individual was nearly six feet high, and having taken a careful survey of his undusted boots, entered the café, humming a tune, and pulling about his curls, and brandishing his cane, and making as much as possible of all that appertained to his large and magnificently apparelled person,—'*Eh! bon jour, Baron!*' said a creature, to all seeming of the same genius, who was standing at the entrance of the small room to the right picking his teeth. "Do you know who that is?" said the friend I was dining with. We were sitting at one of that line of tables to the left, and nearly opposite the door, which the Baron had entered.

"Not I indeed," said I.

"Well, I'll tell you more about him than

* Sky blue.

he thinks, I dare say, that any body here is acquainted with.

"A lady,—do not ask about her virtue! first pointed out to me yonder hero. It was at the Variétés,—we were in a little dark box, and could not be seen; he was, as you may suppose, in the most conspicuous part of the theatre.

"'Voilà un homme,' cried the lady, 'qui me doit beaucoup,—beaucoup,—beaucoup.'*

"Now, as I suspected my friend of being rather more addicted to borrowing than to lending, I uttered with great naïveté a rather surprized '*Comment?*'†

"'*Oui, oui,*' said she.

"That young gentleman was the son of a French washerwoman, who said his father was an English general. For many years the old man had the malice to doubt this very creditable fact, and for many years, in consequence, *mon ami, que voila!*‡ ran about in very ragged *déshabille*, carrying, not unfrequently, a

* See there, a man who owes me a great deal—a great deal.

† How is that?

‡ My friend, whom you all see.

well-filled basket, now of clean and now of dirty clothes from and to the maternal garret.

"The aptitude, however, which a death-bed creates, to believe in miracles, convinced the old gentleman, when he was about to die, that he might have, could have, and must have begotten the unfortu nate and long forgotten Albert.

"A will, in consequence was made, a fortune bequeathed, a soul, perhaps, saved, and a dirty lad who went to bed with five *sous* in his pocket, awoke the heir to 100,000fr. per annum, inscribed *sur le grand livre.*

"Albert was then 19 years old. His mother washed for me!

"'Take my advice,' said I to the mother, 'return this very night all your customers' dirty linen, and start you by to-morrow's diligence, off to your province. As to your son, I will make a gentleman of him.' The old lady listened to my counsels, which I actually advanced 500 francs in support of; and Monsieur Albert was told that two little rooms in my apartment were at his service. Well, I kept him quiet, and had him taught to read and write,—he never made a very good scholar;—and to ride and

to walk;—Oh! mon Dieu, what pains I had with his elbows; and to put on his hat, and to swing his stick,—you see he is always swinging his stick! and then what drives we had in the Bois de Boulogne before I could make him sit decently in a cabriolet, or hold the reins like a christian.

"At last Albert only wanted four months of coming of age. 'Go and travel,' I said: 'that is, go to my aunt in the country, (I have got an old aunt in Auvergne,) and wait there till I write to you.'

"Well, I took a large apartment for him on the Boulevards, and had it magnificently furnished, with a little boudoir *en gothique*. I had then all his table-cloths, and all his knives and forks, and all his porcelain, and all his pocket handkerchiefs, handsomely worked with a coronet, and the day before his arrival came a large packet from the country—to the *Baron* * * *.

"Would you believe it? for the first week of his arrival I sent him,—in different handwriting too—some by the twopenny post, some by the general post, some by a page, some by a groom, and some by a commissionaire—five hundred and sixty-two letters, all properly addressed, 'To the Baron * * *.'

"From that week he was 'Baron' to all the world. His servants said, 'Monsieur le Baron,' I said 'Monsieur le Baron,' his new acquaintances said 'Monsieur le Baron,' and he himself signed himself 'Le Baron de' with all the natural dignity of a hero whose history was incorporated with the crusades.

"The young gentleman who walked into the café just now," continued my friend, "is the identical Baron, who owes so much to the good lady to whom I owe his history."

This is a fact!

But some titles are more ancient, and accompanied with greater worth.

The young M. de —, who was lately compromised in the affair of La Vendée, is a liberal royalist of the school of Châteaubriand and Martignac, and one of the most distinguished among the young nobility.

Never seen at the Tuileries during the prosperity of Charles X, immediately on arriving from Algiers, he hurried to Lulworth, and disdaining, as he says, to control a sentiment which he thinks chivalrous and noble, by prudential calculations, he has ever since been ready for any enterprise, however desperate, which the misguided family in exile have felt inclined to sanction. He will neither permit

himself nor any one else to reason with him on this subject. 'If the mob had been reasonable,' he says, 'they would never have ventured with an army of hackney coaches to overthrow the ancient dynasty at Rambouillet.'

One observes in this young man, more strongly than in any instance I ever saw, how much depends on circumstances: the benumbing, soporific effects of prosperity, and the advantages which, in the development of intellect and character, adversity has the merit to bestow.

Five years ago ——— was a French dandy —occupied with little but his horses, his tilbury;—his neckcloths, his waistcoats, and pantaloons. Hurrying from amusement to amusement;—the only thought that ever came across him at times—was that he was bored. With an easy income, and one of the most illustrious names in France, (at that time a fortune), handsome, graceful, and just married to a wife in every way accomplished, he had all that could be desired; and yet, despite of this, there is no comparison in the measure of respect which he received from those who knew him then, and that which is paid him by those who know him now.

The life he leads and has led since the

revolution of 1830—is curious as a specimen of that pursued by many of his class. For the last two years he has spent eight months of each year in a lonely château in the country, with his thoughts and books. He has dismissed even the appearances of pleasure—horses, equipage, etc. In Paris he goes no where but to the club: at home, he never receives visitors, and is only to be found by one or two friends, whom he invites to a dinner which is nowise changed on their account. If he has any society, it is that of artists and men of letters, who, as he feels by a certain instinct, throw a dignity and poesy about his position. Such, too, is in general the society of that set of royalists to which he belongs—partly because the head of their party (M. de Châteaubriand) inspires a respect for his distinction—and partly because there is in their own feelings, and politics, and hazardous situation, a something noble, imaginative, and dangerous, which seeks for thoughts and sympathies higher than those of the ordinary kind.

But hostile as are the ardent and high spirited youth of the Faubourg St. Germain to the Prince chosen by the nation—there are few amongst them who attach any divine right to the principle of hereditary succession. They

consider it simply as a link between the past and the present; as a guarantee of stability and durability, as a decoration and illustration to the throne, but not as the sole foundation on which a monarchy can be founded.

As the party of Henry V has some few rational adherents amongst the young nobility, so the party of Louis-Philippe enlists from the higher '*bourgeoisie*,' and the gentry, a certain number of young men of serious habits and very extensive information.

These, as a class, however, belong rather to the Young France of the old régime which they opposed, than to the Young France of the new régime, which has embraced them. They were the young men who wrote in the Globe, and frequented the salon of the Duc de Broglie; a cold, enlightened, reasonable, pale-faced set of young men, who dream of liberty in a quaker's uniform, and have a code of politics as prim as their persons.

Born to be the partizans of the juste-milieu, they support conscientiously and with intelligence, the government of Louis-Philippe, and only commit the error of mis-judging the character and the temperament of the French. They will always be respected; they can never be beloved; and in a career which will be

honorable, they must resign the hope of being popular, among their fellow countrymen.

I know, many of my friends in France! that you blame the juste-milieu; you detest, you abhor the juste-milieu; there is much to say against it, I accord to you. But good heavens! to what is not one driven as an anchor from the restless nonsense which I have heard promulgated with the frantic air of philosophy, by some of those who are for launching the state vessel, rudderless, and compassless—and ballastless—on the immense ocean that lies immeasurable before you?

Monsieur D * * *, a young artist, a hero of July, and decorated with the blue ribbon, called on me the other morning. He hates the government—why?—"It is not noble and pure." He wishes for another—but what? "That is not his business; all he undertakes is, to destroy." Then a constituent assembly is to be called together; a constituent assembly nominated by the poorer classes, *because the poorer classes are the most intelligent.*

"Well," said I, "what would you first abolish?"

"Oh! les charges surtout! Les honnêtes

hommes feront les affaires pour rien. Il ne faut point de droits, ni d'impôts, ni de police. Le peuple est conservateur; on l'a vu à Paris et à Lyon. C'est inutile de prendre des précautions contre le bon peuple."*

"And what is your especial grievance now?"

"Some people have not enough, and some have a superfluity—and this must be remedied."

"How?"

"Oh! that is not my affair. Les pères de famille arrangeront tout cela. D'ailleurs l'éducation doit être gratuite."†

"But you say the people are already so well educated! Besides, if you educate the people, somebody will pay; if they (the people) do not,—the state must; but if the state pays, there must be taxes, and then, where's your theory?"

"C'est égal!—Je rêve de belles choses nous les verrons. Il faut chasser cette canaille

* Appointments above every thing. Honest men will manage the public affairs for nothing. We must have neither excise, nor taxes, nor police. The people is conservative; we saw this at Paris and Lyons. It is useless to take precautions against the people.

† The fathers of families will arrange all that. Besides education should be gratuitous.

ous les gens d'énergie pensent comme moi. l y a des associations !"*

"What is the aim of your associations ?"

"To associate—to know our number."

"But have you no especial idea attached o these societies ?"

"Yes ; que le monde soit plus heureux."†

And many young men in France are like M. D***, and talk of great things and sublime hings—vast pyramidal speculations—enormous t the base, imperceptible at the conclusion.

There they go, promising you a new future, new political deluge, and a new political reation ; the Noahs of their time, and carrying about the ark of salvation from the oulevards to the Palais Royal, from the Vauevilles to the Variétés—sauntering at a café—gling a grisette—flourishing a switch—humming an opera, telling you are a brute if ou do not admire the extravagances of Victor ugo, or a rogue if you do not confess that . —— should be first Consul of the Reublic.

Reader, if I wished to give you an idea of is section of "Young France," I could do so

* Never mind. I dream beautiful things. We shall them yet. But, first, let us rout these rascals. Every dy with energy thinks as I do. There are associations.

† That the world may be more happy.

exactly. Look at Mlle. Déjazet,* in the uniforn of Napoleon !!!

There is, however, a darker and more seriou group in this otherwise unimposing picture.

I have spoken of the brave and ignoran republican, of the clever and careless ma of letters, of the adventurous and suc cessful poet, of the sensitive and enthusi astic suicide, of the vain and would-be-fashion able sonneteer, of the expensive and nameles noble, of the chivalric and rational royalist of the calm and sensible ministerialist, of th wild and vague, and imaginative and well meaning artist; every character I have sketche is a mirror of many more. But lo ! with arm folded and lips compressed, a more thick browed, and deep-thinking youth!

Here is the band which from a good educa tion and an ardent temperament, build up—wit much learning and labour—impossible theories

Strange to say, even in that science whic has taught us to look with intelligence into th Heaven above our heads, which has led us fro consequence to consequence through the mys terious system of a thousand worlds.—Eve in this exact and sublime science, there is, (o account, perchance, of its very sublimity, an

* A very clever, impudent-looking little actress.

exactitude,) but a deceitful guide, when we would thread the labyrinth of human philosophy, or navigate the storms of political life.

Strange to say, much that we blame as vague speculation, has been derived from logical and dogmatical conclusion. Much that we have considered as the wild ravings of a distempered imagination, has resulted from the desire to introduce a precise and mathematical absolutism into thought and action. Hence, of late years, in France, the singular, and to many, unaccountable spectacle, of the greatest theorists among men least addicted to visionary pursuits.

Go into yonder salon, where you meet the young doctors and philosophers of the hour! This legist carries the principle of equality so far, that he believes there is no difference in intellect; that philosopher imagines the superiority of one individual over another so divine, that he would have set no limits to Bonaparte's despotism. Here is the christian theologist, who has just composed a new Genesis! There is the practical experimentalist, who has just performed a new miracle! The philosopher proves we shall have tails,* and

* See "New Philosophies."

the moralist counsels prostitution. There i a mixture of sense and nonsense, of virtu and vice, of learning and want of sound wis dom about this race which sometimes asto nishes a foreigner, and sometimes amuses.

True; they are free from what the man c books, or the man of solitude would cal 'ignorance.' They have learned most tha study teaches, or meditation inspires. Bu there is a knowledge of human kind and c human affairs, which the practical minglin with the one in its variety of climes and races and the practical handling of the other, excep in rare and almost miraculous instances, ca alone give.

It is this knowledge which sets us o the right side of that almost invisible lin which separates the possible from the im possible; the ingenious theory from the pro found reality; the lofty speculation on wha will never happen, from the sober and de rivative divination of what is about to com to pass. It is this knowledge which ele vates the sophist into the philosopher; th speculator into the statesman: it is thi knowledge which alone decyphers the myste rious scroll on which Providence writes—TH NECESSITY OF THINGS.

When Pythagoras and Plato conceived the idea of preaching a philosophy to their countrymen, they considered it a necessary part of their undertaking to visit Egypt and the Indies, and to acquaint themselves with the countries, and with the history, and the civilization of the countries which surrounded them. Not so the more positive and impatient founders of systems in Paris!

They live in a "set," they talk in a "set," they think in a "set," and their thoughts are thus frequently most bounded, when they conceive they are most enlarged, and their language next to unintelligible, when they deem that they have arrived at the ne plus ultra of perspicuous expression. They believe those ideas to be most general, which they hear most frequently repeated, and those terms to be most explicit, which they have invented as mere pass-words among themselves.

As for other countries, they never take them into account.

The wants of the present epoch, and the philosophy of the present epoch—always supposing that these are to affect humanity in general—are never considered but as the wants of the present epoch, and the philosophy of the present epoch in France.

Christianity is to disappear, and a system of universal association to take place, because there are in France symptoms unfavourable to the one, and favourable to the other. The mind of England, the mind of America, the mind of Germany, at least as influential over the world's doctrines, as that of our enlightened, but somewhat variable neighbours, are considered as natural effervescences from the solid spirit of a French imagination.

I do not say this in despite, nor am I inclined to throw even a momentary ridicule upon the powerful workings of generous and ingenuous persons, whom I believe to be actuated by the noblest desire, viz. that of elevating and improving mankind.

But the mischief of jejune creeds, is their ever accompanying intolerance; and when I see young men, who have thought much, but who have beheld little, altogether ignorant of other lands, having but a partial knowledge of their own, necessarily unacquainted with the practice of Government, not easily delivered of even their own visions of philosophy, set up unhesitatingly some newly invented standard for every man's honesty and intelligence, and deem without scruple that all who do not submit to it are rogues or fools, or despots, or

aristocrats, I own that I do feel a strong desire to speak, not against the preaching of great changes in society and religion, if the necessity for these changes should force themselves after long and deep meditation upon our sober consciences; but against the adopting hastily, and preaching intemperately, such strange and startling doctrines as those which it is impossible for the philosophers of the medical and Polytechnic school to have imbibed, except on very superficial reasonings, and very brief observation.

"Stand upon the ancient roads," says Bacon, "and see which is the good and the right one, and walk on in that."

Antiquity deserveth so much reverence as that we should rest thereupon, and first discover which is the best way; *then*—when the discovery is well made, we may take progression.

But if a man will begin with certainties, he will end with doubts, whereas, if he be content to begin with doubts, he will end with certainties.

SOCIAL STATE.

CHAPTER IV.

Describe different classes of French society—The midd class is different in France from the middle cla elsewhere, and more embued with the spirit of oth classes—Still the character of the shop-keepers on t whole prevails—Chamber, Jury, National Guard, e in the hands of this class.

I WILL now divide what remains for me say on this subject into a view of the differe classes of French society.

THE MIDDLE CLASS.

The middle class in France holds a particu position, and is different from any body th we should call by the same name in any oth country.

In England the middle class is entirely composed of persons engaged in trade, the lower branches of commerce, farmers, attorneys, and persons retired from business, and living on the small capital they may have acquired in it. Their respectability is great, their views and feelings, sensible and moderate, but their influence has been much exaggerated; it is crushed between the great fortunes of the aristocracy on the one hand, and the extensive elective franchise of the working classes on the other.

In America there is no especial middle class; all the nation is composed of *our* middle class. This class were its original founders, and have been its constant settlers.

In France there is a middle class, not like the nation in America, not like the middle class in this country, but a middle class composed of the ruins of an old, and the elements of a new, state of society. We see there, as in those strata of the earth, where we find the mingled fossils of animals, and of fish, and of herbs, some antediluvian, the traces of a mighty shock which threw into unexpected companionship things, once heterogeneous, and buried the witnesses of a former world in the womb of the present one. Not only did the revolution of 89 break down the fortunes which separate

ranks—it broke down the habits. During that terrible reign, in which a noble name was a title of proscription, the lower classes lost all deference for the upper, and the upper all contempt for the lower.

The feelings which, on either side, had kept the two portions of society apart, disappeared; and as the victories of the consulate succeeded elevating the peasant to the command of provinces and armies, and carrying a successful soldier of fortune to the topmost pinnacle of power, even that halo which sheds itself upon the aristocratic mansion and the princely palace descended upon the cottage. High place and great consideration obtained by a quality—which, for the very reason, perhaps, that it is the most common among men, is the most commonly respected,—high place and great consideration—the consequence of successful valor—created a nobility without ancestors and which had frequently its relations among the humbler orders of the people.

Here the daughter of an illustrious race brought up by a mother almost starving, with no fortune and little education, was too happy to espouse the son of a grocer, whose bill would have been difficult to pay. Here, too, the son of a grocer, risen into a distin-

guished general, emulated the equipage, lived in the society, and perhaps married into one of the families of that courtly set, who enchanted the modern master with the ancient recollections of Versailles. All men had been every thing, and connected with every body during those few eventful years, which only form half the life of this generation, but which will be the history of a republic and an empire—to posterity. The middle class in France then—I mean that class, who have a moderate or what we should call a small fortune, and move in an ordinary sphere of life—cannot be said to have altogether one particular set of habits, or one particular set of recollections, or one particular set of desires.

The seigneur has *fallen* into this class, the servant has *risen* into it, and these changes have taken place, and this amalgamation has been brought about, not by the steady hand of Time, that great but slow revolutionist, but by the running blow of Fortune, which, altering the position of men, still leaves their manners and their memories.

Thus, though the middle class in France may to a certain degree represent what may be called the shopkeepers, still it does not wholly represent them ;—while the shopkeepers them-

selves are not, if I may thus express myself, so completely shopkeepers as in other countries. They are more connected and more in the habit of mixing with other persons and other classes. They have less of frugality and caution, and more of elegance and luxury in their tastes and pursuits. They live in intimate companionship with the artist, the litterateur, the soldier; and feel no sort of barrier, either between themselves and those who have not yet risen into their sphere, or between themselves and those whose fortunes are superior to theirs.

It is because they are not so much a body apart in France as in other countries, that they better fill the station that is assigned to them in the French nation. They have not, to the same extent, those feelings of 'caste' which belong to the middling order in governments where ranks have been less mingled, and history is less violent and confused. They do not feel so alien to the lower classes, nor so distinct from the higher.

Still, the man who has sunk from opulence to mediocrity, or the man who is rising from indigence to wealth, is equally partial to order and tranquillity; and here the middle class in France, though composed so differently from

hat elsewhere, is moved by the same impulse. Containing the soldier, it is averse to war, nd springing in part from the lower ranks of the eople, it is averse to revolution. Besides, hough the middle class in France is not exlusively a class of shopkeepers, though the hopkeepers in France are different in many espects from those in countries where they orm a rank, as it were, of their own,—yet it is he shopkeepers who compose the most ulky and important part of this class, nor are hey wholly without the feelings and disposition atural to their calling. The government of the middle class, then, is sometimes called "the government of the shopkeepers," and represents sufficient of its characteristics, when we ppose it to what might be called "the government of the army," or "the government of the ristocracy," or "the government of the working lasses," to justify such a description.

I say "the government of the middle class," —for it is the object of the present constitution n France to give this class (though within a ery limited sphere) the legal and representative power of the state. The chamber of deputies, the municipal councils, the juries, are all he representatives of this body—voting the ublic money, regulating the provincial admi-

nistration, wielding the judicial power, and thu
maintaining in the will of the government tha
unity, which a centralized administration give
to its force.

"The law takes a fair estimate of the different influence
and opinions, which in our state of society are the mos
proper to advance the cause of civilization and the inter
ests of the country. Is it necessary to say that thes
opinions and these influences are the opinions and th
influences of the middle classes, whose accession to powe
is the greatest and most prolific result of our fifty yea
of revolution ?

" And when people, in a spirit more philosophic tha
politic, reproach us for not establishing between all th
opinions and all the influences a perfect equilibrium—
when, in the name of the people who take no part in th
dispute, these persons complain that the law gives t
what they call the shopkeepers a decided preponderanc
they only, in my idea, declare that the electoral law, a
it exists, is good, just according to the principles of th
revolution, and adapted to the wants of society.

" To whom indeed ought power to be given, if not t
that *bourgeoisie* of whom we speak ?—To the aristocracy
I am far from undervaluing the services that those class
have rendered in former times, or to deny the kind
historical pomp which still surrounds them. *But t*
blindest must see that the time for an aristocracy is gone b

" To the classes the most numerous and the poorest

" I know not, for my own part, if these classes will ev
arrive at such a degree of intelligence, of civilization, a

of leisure as will give them the power of governing instead of being governed; but this I know that at the present time they are not arrived at this state of capacity; that at all events we must govern, not by them, but for them.

"To the middle classes, then, to the middle classes alone belongs the government of France!"

Such is the language of Monsieur Duvergier D'Hauranne, one of the most distinguished among the young deputies of the juste-milieu.

THE ARISTOCRACY.

CHAPTER V.

Aristocracy still found in the drawing-room—Driven from the forum—Origin of government of the middle class—Bonaparte's two aristocracies—Destruction of majorats—Impossibility of hereditary peerage in France—Law respecting present peerage and fault of ——

"An aristocracy in France," says Monsieur Duvergier, "is gone by."—

Let us go to Paris with this idea! Who is at the head of society there? The king? The court? that handsome and well-favoured prince whose apartments are so tastefully adorned in the Pavillon Marsan?

To the king, and his court—to the prince who is to be king and to have a court—behold yonder salons of the elect are barred, banned!

To whom does the banker bow so low? To

the lady in favour at the illuminated Tuileries —or the dame who receives in a dark hotel in the Rue St. Dominique?

You tell me, Monsieur Duvergier, that the aristocracy is gone by. I know no country where it is more alive — in the drawing-room.

There is a club at the corner of the Rue de Grammont, composed of the persons best known *in society* at Paris.

The Duc de Luxembourg, the type of the old aristocracy, is chosen president by a great majority.

But enter a new arena! a complimentary address is to be presented to M. de Château-briand.*

The address is to produce a sensation: who should present it? The young royalists hold council together.

What person do they select to place at their head—this time? Do the young journalists and bankers and *rentiers* select Monsieur de Luxembourg, or Monsieur de Fitz-James, or Monsieur de Montmorenci? No; but the Duc

* On account of the pamphlet containing that famous phrase—

"Votre fils, Madame, est mon Roi,

Addressed to the Duchesse de Berri.

de Luxembourg, the Duc de Montmorenci, the Marquis de Fitz-James, select—Monsieur —Thomas.

"We have got a capital person," said a Carlist to me. "We have got a capital person to present the address; a Monsieur Thomas!!! Dieu merci il n'y a rien d'aristocratique dans ce nom là."*

This is the circumstance to be remarked in France, a circumstance puzzling to most strangers.

That class, which we call the aristocracy, at the same time takes the lead in private society and the tail in public affairs.

Defeated in the market place and the forum it has entrenched itself in the salon; and if driven from the chamber finds a consolation in breaking the hearts of the deputies' wives.

An aristocracy then and the pretensions of an aristocracy, still exist in France, where an aristocracy and its pretensions can do little harm. When I say 'harm,' I may be using a wrong expression.

That elegant and graceful clique which flitted but five years ago, in all the suavity of power—for it is not power that is insolent and exclusive—round the royal person; hostile as

* Thank God! there is nothing aristocratic in this name

favored band to the interests of the people, forms as a discontented faction the best opposition to a court. They who would sneer at the just rebuke of M. Odillon Barrot, will writhe beneath the courtly satire of Madame de Noailles; and even Napoleon, after unhesitatingly crushing the constitution and the press, halted more than once before the whispered censure of a little brocaded circle, who respected his power to make kings, and smiled at his efforts to make chamberlains.

We may trace the fall, I mean the political fall, of the old nobility in France to Richelieu and to Louis XIV; undoubtedly they humbled the pride and weakened the provincial power of the feudal chieftains; but it is singular, as an historical fact, that the rise of that commercial class, on which M. Duvergier states the present government to be based, and which certainly placed the present monarch upon his throne, was more especially owing to the accidental reign of a Prince of the House of Orleans.

"In the middle of a populous part of the town, between the streets of St. Denis and St. Martin, extends in the same direction an obscure passage, 450 feet long and 5 broad, bordered on either side by about ninety houses.

"It is called Rue Quincampoix; at a celebrated epoch it was called, *la rue* as Rome was called *la ville*. The two extremities of this street or passage were occupied by a guard, and fortified by an iron grate which opened at six in the morning and closed at nine at night. The nobility entered by one end, the vulgar by another; *but the barrier once passed, the most fraternal equality reigned within.*"*

This was the vortex amidst the hissing eddies of which the materials of two revolutions were first forged.

At the head of a banking company sat Philippe, Regent of France, and grands seigneurs and sovereigns petitioned to be introduced, under such illustrious auspices, to the mines and the mysteries of jobbing.

What was an aristocracy ready to sell its birthright for a mess of pottage, and which threw the prestige of its nobility at the feet of a set of swindling Jews and brokers?—Every consideration had been sacrificed for the sake of money, and money became, in consequence, the sole measure of consideration.

In vain then were the velvet hats, and nodding plumes, and graceful mantles of the ancient

* See Lemontey—Louis XV.

chivalry of France! on the plain and simple body, which represented the interests of industry and commerce, all eyes in 1789 were fixed; and, when the Tiers-Etat declared themselves the National Assembly, every one felt that in fact they *did* represent the nation.*

And now, over the gorgeous superiorities of the past, roll heavily the wheels of the revolution; Napoleon, after the 18th of Brumaire, becomes first magistrate of France; but what is society around him?—to use his own expression —"a mass of pulverized ruins,"—no part does he find more solid and elevated than the rest, on which the seat that he holds may repose, or the throne to which he aspires may be raised. He ought then to form an aristocracy; but a new aristocracy — consistent with—nay, naturally rising out of—the new ideas, by which the old one had been consigned to the tomb.

In the "Legion of Honour" was incorporated a body, which, distinguished for arms and letters, possessed the two titles which at the time obtained national respect.

* Law it was who founded that reign of the *bourgeoisie* which expired with the Gironde, began recommencing after the empire, and has existed since the revolution of July, amidst, as I have elsewhere said, a variety of influences and opinions that are opposed to it.

But the empire succeeded to the consulate an hereditary principle was to govern the state and not wishing that the transmission of his sceptre should be a political anomaly, Bonaparte placed the fortune of his favorites upon the pedestal to which he had raised his own power.

Hence the institution of majorats: which lying for the most part in a conquered territory were given with the double object of attaching the nobility to the crown, and its conquests to the empire.*

* Majorats were unknown in the old French law, and were first instituted under the imperial régime.

The emperor, by the decree 30th August, 1806, created a number of different great fiefs, but in foreign countries which were to be given to great services, and descend by order of primogeniture from *male* to *male*.

The alienation of these fiefs in foreign countries was authorised on the condition that other estates should be acquired in France and transmitted in the same manner.

A clause always enjoining the acquisition of such property by the man in case of defect of male issue.

This was one species of majorat.

There was also another; the emperor being authorised to create a majorat in favour of any citizen who should have distinguished himself, which majorat was to be founded with the citizen's own private property.

In respect to entails, they were first limited to the second degree by an ordinance 1747, and afterwards prohibited 14th August, 1806. But they were again intro-

In the first instance this extraordinary personage was governed by the opinions of his time; in the second he endeavoured to impose upon that time his own ideas.

duced by a law 3rd October, 1807, in an exceptional case thus expressed :—

" Néanmoins les biens libres formant la dotation de titres héréditaires que l'empereur aurait érigé en faveur l'un prince ou chef de famille pourront être transmis héréditairement."

In all these laws the emperor, as is evident, had the object in view:—of creating and perpetuating an aristocracy founded on merit.

They were attacked in discussion on three different grounds :—

1. As contrary to the best principles of political economy.

2. As opposed to the best rules of legislation.

3. As hostile to the soundest interests of morality.

On the first ground it was said that, by making any property inalienable, you took it out of commerce and circulation. The revenue of those majorats that were founded on the property of the emigrants was valued at four millions of francs.

On the second ground, it was urged that it established in perpetuity an unequal lot amongst families, and an impediment to merit.

On the third, the numerous social evils arising out of the poverty of one part of a family, and the exorbitant wealth of another, were demonstrated.

But in the attempt to turn back the curren which had carried him so far forward, even th greatest man whom history has recorded wa unsuccessful ; and thus the reign of Bonapart remains—but an episode in the history of th French revolution.

Hark! at the very moment that I write, a ne crash is heard among that feudal échafaudage which this Charlemagne of the nineteenth cen tury sought to raise amidst the ideas of Rous seau and the recollections of the convention.*

* LAW RELATIVE TO THE ABOLITION OF MAJORATS AND SUBSTITUTIONS OR ENTAILS

Article 1. All majorats are interdicted for the future.

2. All majorats, or portions of majorats, founded wi private property before the promulgation of the prese law, and which before such promulgation shall not ha been transmitted, will return to their founders.

3. The majorats of the same nature, created before t promulgation of this law, shall only have effect in favo of those who shall be in possession of the properties th affected, or who shall have acquired the right to cla them.

4. Nevertheless,[a] in the case foreseen (by the articl

[a] This and the following article was inserted in favo of the women, who, since marriages are always an aff of calculation in families, had been induced most probab to marry under such considerations and expectations.

Surely if any proof were wanting for the stification of those who, five years ago, pro- aimed the impossibility of supporting an

ove), the property cannot be alienated or mortgaged the founder, if he is married since the creation of the ajorat, or before the present law, or if, having become widower, he has children from the marriage he con- acted.

So also in respect to the incumbent, when he shall ve married since the institution of the majorat.

Nevertheless, the possessor of the majorat can, with e consent of his wife, dispose of the property, for the ablishment of their common children, within the limits the civil code.

5. If, at the time of the present law being promul- ted, there exist expectants in succession, married since e creation of a majorat, there shall be in their favour an ception to articles 2 and 3, and they will in consequence eive the majorat, and enjoy it in conformity with the trictions contained in article 4.

6. The shares which the younger children or widows all have acquired over property composing such majo- s shall be preserved to them.

7.[a] The dotations, or the portions of dotations, con- ting of property subjected to the right of returning to e state, will continue to be held and transmitted ac- ding to the article of investiture, and without preju- e to the expectations opened by the law of 5th tober, 1814.

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[a] In the preceding articles mention only has been made majorats founded on private property.

hereditary peerage in the country of which
am writing, such proof would be found in t
present enactment of laws,—laws dictated le
by the head than the heart of the nation,—la
the most popular among that middle class whi
M. Duvergier says *must reign*,—laws destro
ing the sole foundation on which an aristocra
of descent can be maintained.

Let us be sure of this! when there exis
any body in a state, mingled up in the peopl
concerns, but about which the people feel
interest—a body, the opinion of which can
crushed by the will of a minister, without excit
a murmur in the nation—the persons who
titles, under such circumstances, the monar
may attach to the peerage, are of no more impo
ance than those whose names he, with the sa
benevolence, affixes on the pension list. Th
are debtors to the royal bounty, but they
not invested with public consideration.

8. The disposition of the five above-named articles
applicable to the entails made in virtue of the law 2
May, 1826.

9. Abolished in every thing contradictory to the pres
law the act imperial of 30th March 1806, the "*sen*
consulte" of the 14th August following, and the dec
of the 18th of March 1808, and the law of 17th M
1826.

The object of a second chamber is the insti-
tion of a court of national appeal. For its
ecisions to be valid, such a court must be in-
ependent of the crown, and respected by the
eople;—for its decisions to be just, such a
ourt must be intimately connected with the
abits, the state of property, the sentiments,
nd the state of society in that country where
exists.

But, even before these later edicts, during
ne haughtiest times of the restoration, what, in
rance, was the hereditary chamber?

There it stood! the image of Nebuchadnez-
r's idol. On its front were written great
ames and historical recollections; its head
as of gold; but its feet were of clay!

It could not be an efficient body in the go-
ernment of France, for it was not a body
nalogous with the society of France.

If the property of the peerage were allowed to
ndergo the ordinary rule of succession, royalty
ad before it a small number of families whom
might be necessary to gain for political pur-
oses, and easy to gain by ministerial and
ourtly favors.

If, on the contrary, laws were made for the
ntinual accummulation of wealth in these
milies, there was created, in a state where the

whole nation was interested in a particular
tribution of fortune, and the social and polit
consequences resulting from it,—a small ba
perpetually alone, and aloof from that natio
a band which must have ideas, and habits,
interests totally different from those for wh
they were legislating.

Leave this body in the ordinary co
tion of their fellow citizens, and you deli
them into the hands of the sovereign ;
parate them and their childrens' child
from their fellow citizens, and you dest
that identity which is necessary between
governor and the governed.

Besides, in forming a chamber which ough
comprize the superiorities of a country, it is
ways necessary to consider what, in that coun
will most readily be considered superioritie

If ancient descent, if large fortune f
those distinctions which the people most
lingly acknowledge—on ancient descent
on large fortune base your upper chamber!

The possessor of a large fortune may be loo
up to for protection in a country where t
is a great class possessing large fortunes.

Such is still the case in England.

The possessor of ancient descent is loo
up to in a country, the great nobles of w

njoy an independent existence, and are by action nd history connected with the popular cause.

Such was the case in England.

But shew me a state with thirty-two millions f inhabitants, and where there are not above ,500 landed proprietors with 1,200*l.* a year!*

What sentiment will a great fortune, entailed n a few families, create? Respect and con- idence?—no; suspicion—suspicion, because nstead of being the guarantee to a large class hat their condition will be maintained, these few amilies will exist as a perpetual source of fear to he country, that its existence will be changed.

So, if I find amongst a nation, become deeply ttached to popular privileges, a nobility which, luring the days of its grandeur was nourished y courtly favour, I know that the names which evive national antipathies will not be proper onductors to public respect?

The two conditions necessary to hereditary egislation exist not in France; and if you give, s a reason for its institution, the advantages it nce produced in England, you may as well ad- ocate the culture of the sugar cane in Norway, ecause it flourished in St. Domingo.

* About 939 properties pay from 4000 to 5000 francs—he 6th of their revenue; but as other properties joined re in the hands of the same possessor, from 1400 to 1500

But the most amusing circumstance in t very remarkable discussion which took place short time ago in respect to the nature of t peerage in France, was this!—

All the necessities on which an hereditar assembly is founded—nobody desired. A di ferent distribution of property, a great respe for privileged orders—God forbid!

The state of society out of which such institution naturally arises, was declared to abominable on all sides; it was the institutio itself that a few, no doubt very wise statesme and philosophers, wanted, without any of i effects, or any of its causes.

This isolated peerage was not to be direct connected with the country, but somethin separate from the country; not a body reposin upon 80,000* great proprietors—this was d nounced as most atrocious—but a nice litt body of 300 persons, dropping from the cloud for there seemed nothing on earth they coul arise from, and totally distinct from every bod and everything around them.

is about the calculation.—See Introduction, Franc ' Literary, Social, and Political.'—vol. i. p. xxii.

* Ce n'est pas 80,000 tyrans que nous voulons impos au pays, ce sont seulement 300 individus que nous voulo invester de hautes fonctions. Voilà tout.—*M. Thiers.*

An aristocracy may be still possible and desirable in France, but not an hereditary aristocracy. For qualities that confer individual respect individuals might be chosen, who would form a body universally respected; but these qualities would not be a pedigree posteriorating to the crusades, nor a fortune accumulated under laws at variance with the habits and ideas of the existing generation.

As the passion for military glory was stronger during the olden time than the pride of birth, so is it stronger at the present time than the pride of equality.

In the reign of Louis XIV, the court saw, without a murmur, the title of 'duke,' which was a right, submit to the title of 'marshal' which was a gift. In the reign of Louis-Philippe, the nation elevates the distinctions of the camp above the doctrines that denounce distinctions among the people.

Nor is the sentiment inspired by success in letters, less than that which follows success in arms.

"Les dieux, que nous avons maintenant," said a person of no small celebrity lately—"ce sont la science et l'art; nous sommes encoués dans les théâtres et dans la cour comme nous étions jadis dans les églises, les

cœurs que nous avons enlevés aux prêtr
nous les devons tout entiers aux philosoph
et aux poètes."

The French have one chamber composed
the mediocrities of their country ;—a chamb
neither elected by the people, who are alwa
attached to the pomp and circumstance
talent ; nor by the great proprietors, who, wh
ever their faults, usually take a noble aspect
public affairs. The chamber of deputies, chos
by a small body of the middle classes, rep
sents the mediocrities of France.

If you wish for another assembly, whi
the king and the people shall respect, and
which the chamber of deputies can be appeal
from, it must be an assembly composed—not
the superiorities of past times, nor of forei
states, but of the acknowledged and existi
superiorities of France.

To create such an assembly, was the intenti
of those who founded the present chamber
peers ; but I cannot but think there is a radi
vice in the very origin of this institution.

You wish for an independent body, co
posed of persons whose distinctions shall i
pose a popular authority upon the sovereig
opinions, or give the sanction of superior
pacity and intelligence to the counsels of
people's assembly.

You wish for this, and what do you do? you rganize the existence of your political crea- ion so as to cripple it at its very birth. Will hose who are named by the king receive the aith of the people, or can they be firm against he sovereign's displeasure?—The head which hould be crowned with popularity, is disho- ored by suspicion, and the hand that should e armed with independence, is paralyzed by ratitude.

LAW CONSTITUTING THE PEERAGE OF THE MONARCHY OF THE REVOLUTION.

Louis-Philippe, King of the French, to all present and to come—*salut!*

The chambers have adopted—we have or- ained, and ordain as follows:—

ARTICLE UNIQUE.

Replacing 23rd Article of the Charter.

The nomination of Members of the Chamber f Peers belongs to the King, *who can only hoose* among the notabilities following.*

The number of peers is illimited.

* For Notabilities, see Appendix.

Their dignity shall be given for life and is n
transmissible by order of nomination.

L. PHILIPPE.

Palace of the Tuileries, 29th Dec. 1831.

STATE OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

CHAPTER VI.

State of Working Classes more favorable than formerly—Division of Property—Saving Banks and Associations—Population in Towns and Country—The Population in the former require Poor Laws—System existing—But though the people in towns are badly off, this is rather on account of dissipated habits than want of wages—How to remedy this—Immediate necessity for improving the Working Classes, since the Government which has passed the Aristocracy must descend to them—Police Regulations promoting order amongst them—Causes of late disorders, &c.

THE monarch,* whose solitary statue escaped the revolution of July, owes great part of his

* Henry IV.

popularity to the wish, which no doubt he
honestly expressed as easily forgot, viz. "
every peasant should have a chicken in his
for his Sunday's repast;"—and still, the de
which every philanthropist feels to arrange
ciety under a law that shall protect the inter
and advance the happiness of the multitud
and the difficulty which every legislator fi
in carrying into practice such benevolent
tentions—makes us look with peculiar inte
on any community, whence instruction is to
derived, in this, the great lesson, to be tau
the rulers of mankind.

From what I have already said of "the lo
classes" in France, it may be conclu
that I have formed a favourable opinion as
their condition; but I would now enter i
the present state and future prosperity of
body with more detail.

What a different picture shall I have to d
from that given us by Rousseau, when quitt
the divided soil of Savoy, he first placed
foot on that country over which he was desti
to exercise so powerful a sway, and which
then found in the possession of a bankr
nobility and a starving people!

In the first place:

The period of human existence has increa

y seven years, since the calculations made in 780; and when we consider that this increase, ere taken in the average, ought to be almost ntirely given to the poor, who have chiefly rofited by it, we shall have some idea of the creased comforts and advantages they enjoy.

And now, much that I have said on the divi-on of property comes again under considera-on.

The number of landed proprietors may, cer-inly, be calculated at five millions.

The number of persons, who, as the head of me trade or industry, paid the tax on patents 1832, were 1,118,500;—add the number of ersons not included in either of the above enominations, and who possess mortgages, ouses, or shares of houses, or capital invested the funds!

Surely I may say, if to these holders of atents I add the various possessors and pro-ietors of land, of houses, of funded property, nd of mortgages, there will, at the lowest esti-ate, be 7,000,000 persons, which, allowing four r a family, make 28,000,000 interested, be-ause, according to the French law of succession, share of this property will come to them—some species of property or other: there

remain then but 4,500,000, who have not
perty, or the expectation of it.

How many of these have accumulated,
are still accumulating the means of indep
ence in those banks, institutions worthy of
social epoch in which we live—banks for
by the benevolent intelligence of the rich
order to relieve the burthens, and at the s
time encourage the industry of the po
banks already existing in Amiens, Avig
Besançon, Bordeaux, Douai, Dunker
Hâvre, Lyons, Luneville, Metz, Mulhau
Nantes, Orleans, Paris, Rennes, Ro
Rheims, St. Etienne, Toulon, Toulo
Versailles, — and demanded in Anno
Carcassonne, Cherbourg, Lille, Mâ
Montargis, Nancy, &c. &c.

SAVINGS' BANKS FORMED.

From 1818 to 1830 . . .	11
1832 . . .	4
1833 . . .	12
1834 . . .	20
Since . . .	39
	86

* It is to be remarked, that the lottery decreas
almost the same proportion—in the three first mont
1834, it had diminished by 3,687,000 francs :—it i
abolished.

In 1826, eight years after the creation of these establishments, in a hundred persons depositing their savings, there were not above 16 of the working classes; in 1831, there were 43.

A considerable portion of this body indeed in Paris, has savings deposited in the savings' banks,* and a great number also belongs to some kind of benevolent society.

The progress of these benevolent societies is worthy of notice:

From 1810 to 1830, were authorized	185
From 1830 to 1834	32
During 1834	27
	244

They are generally formed amongst workmen of the same profession, paying a small monthly contribution, (from 1 to 3 francs) in consideration of which relief is to be afforded (about 1 franc a day) when sickness, infirmity, or accident deprive them of employment.

The earliest associations of this description are:—

* In 1830, the savings' bank of Paris alone received 93,284,325 francs, subdivided into 751,567 deposits made by different persons at different times.

That of St. Anne, founded for all professio
in 1694, and containing 160 members.

That of cabinet makers founded 1760.

That of typographists, founded 1789, po
sessing 80 members, and an income of 1,7
francs.

The most numerous are:—

That of the hatters, that of the paper make
that of the printers, and that of the painters
porcelain; some of these have a capital of 15,0
to 16,000 francs.

The persons absolutely dependent upon the
daily labour for support—who if thrown out
employment have no kind of resource—mu
necessarily then be small. The population
the rural districts are frugal, sober, and lab
rious, anxious to obtain a piece of ground,
to extend that which they possess; proud
the title of "peasant" which is usually link
with that of "proprietor," simple, indefatigab
and independent. Here you will hardly find
pauper, except from malady or accident.

In rural villages, indeed, I have frequent
found, upon inquiry, not more than two or thr
poor (I mean supported by charity) in a pop
lation of 1,500—and these were persons co
responding with Mr. Cobbett's account, n

nable to find work, but incapable of performng it.

In towns, however, the case is different.

M. Bigot de Morogues, in a work lately ublished, gives a curious notice of this disinction, and, according to him, indeed, the umber of poor is almost relative to the numer of large towns in any particular district.

	Beggars or Indigent.	Under the "Surveillance" of the Police.
n the towns of above 50,000 inhabitants, and in the departments they belong to, we find, he says, on 10,000 inhabitants.	1,040	170
u 26 departments which have towns above 20,000 persons, on 10,000.	560	130
n 50 departments which have towns above 6,000 persons, on 10,000.	490	110
n those departments which have no town above 5,000 persons, on 10,000.	380	60

Monsieur de Villeneuve draws similar conlusions :—

In towns of above 1,500 persons, he estiates one tenth as paupers.

And in the rest of France one thirtieth.

In the northern departments, where land is *ss divided* than in general, and cultivated with *rger capitals*, there is by far the greatest

number of indigent ; and in the towns of t
division, pauperism has even risen to an alar
ing extent.

" Here," says M. Villeneuve, " the p
consist of workmen, ignorant, improvide
brutified by debauchery, or enervated by n
nufacturing labors, and habitually unable
support their families."

These statements are curious, for they c
roborate much that we find, and which I ha
ventured to remark, in England—shewing th
in France also the greatest misery is frequen
to be seen in those spots where wealth is on
most rapid increase.

A new consideration here arises, which, a
is connected with a question exciting deep
terest amongst ourselves, I shall take the libe
to speak of. People have occupied themsel
much with discussing whether there should
' poor laws,' or whether there should not
' poor laws,'—paying little attention, for
most part, to the state of society to which su
institutions are to be applied : though it
precisely that state of society which may ren
them altogether useless or imperatively
quisite.

When we look at France, which has no
upon the subject, we find a certain neces

making regulations, and preparing the minds of men for regulations, according to the various circumstances it has to provide for.

In the rural districts, and in those rural districts more especially, where property is in the greatest degree divided, the proposition of a poor law would be treated as absurd.

Because, first ;—the labourer is not altogether dependant upon wages ; he has something, when out of employ, to fall back upon, and his patch of ground supplies the place of the poor rate.

Because, secondly;—the great mass who possess property, have no fear of the small number who have nothing : and because, thirdly ;—the very small number who are out of employ, and have no bit of ground, or who, from sickness or accident, are incapable of working for themselves or others, are of the same class, and frequently of the same parentage, as those from whom relief is to come ; therefore no law is required to oblige persons to an act of duty and charity, which their own feeling, and affection, or the opinion of all around them would compel them to perform.

But just in the degree that you approach other places, where the labourer has nothing to depend upon but his wages—where the

possessors of wealth are few, and naturall in dread of the desperation of the greate number;—and where, moreover, the differen distribution of fortune has so separate the classes, as that the poor can appeal t no one among the rich, except on some regu lation made among the rich themselves;—ther you observe, as in the Department du Nord, fo instance, where the greatest capitals are found and where four towns,

Lisle Valenciennes Cambrai Dunkirk	Population. 121,389.

furnish 36,230 paupers;—there, I say, yo observe, to use the words of M. Villeneuve "*que la taxe des pauvres s'est forcement in troduite;*"—and so, let people reason as the will, it must introduce itself, as a wise an prudent policy of the wealthy, wherever so ciety is fluctuating, and the many have no thing to depend upon more certain than thei casual employment.

Paris, the natural reservoir for the enterprize o the kingdom, (out of 3,347 persons relieved i one of the arrondissements of Paris, (1834 2,196 were not of Parisian birth, and 179 no of French extraction,) gives no idea of the stat

of tranquil sufficiency which prevails throughout the country in general; but it is there, that the present system for the relief of the poor is most developed, and can best be studied.

The budget of that metropolis contains a charge of 10,186,388 francs for the poor ;* the aid given being under the following heads :

1. Public establishments 24; 13 being hos-

* This charge is supplied by the following sources :—

Revenus en argent, loyers, fermages, etc.	1,136,271
Fermages en nature.	295,000
Rentes sur l'état.	1,201,472
Rentes sur les particuliers.	11,000
Dons et legs.	100,000
Intérêts de capitaux.	12,000
Journées de malades, pensions payées pour l'admission.	386,100
Produits intérieurs, successions hospitalières.	81,200
Mont-de-Piété.	231,970
Spectacles.	600,000
Marchés créés.	296,300
Recettes diverses.	30,000
Subvention par la ville de Paris.	5,238,000
Subvention par le département pour les enfans trouvés.	400,000
Subvention extraordinaire pour grands travaux.	92,000
Emploi des capitaux de l'administration.	75,075
	10,186,388

pitals destined to the sick, and containing 5,337 beds; and 11 "hospices" or houses where the indigent and infirm may be received to the number of 11,740 persons.

2. Relief sent to persons at their own houses.

3. Les enfans-trouvés.

The movement, 1833, of the population in these establishments, was as follows:

	Hospitals.	Hospices.	Total.
Individuals there 1st Jan.	4,170	9,557	13,727
Admitted during the year	61,765	3,190	64,955
	65,935	12,747	78,692

To these numbers are to be added—

1. Enfans trouvés, in the country or at Paris, on the 1st Jan. (orphans included)	17,435
2. Enfans trouvés, abandoned during the year	5,693
3. Children placed out to nurse by the bureau des nourrices*	1,760
4. Indigent assisted at home . . .	68,986
Total number altogether being	172,566†

* A bureau to which persons desiring children to nurse can apply. The applicants are submitted to certain regulations, and must be monthly examined.

† *i.e.* one to eleven persons in Paris, double the proportion which the poor bear to the population in France in general.

There are also at the outskirts of Paris, large stablishments, or houses of repression, where ll persons, without employment or profession, e received—but these originally intended s charitable, are almost become penal institu-ons, and chiefly contain persons whom the olice deem it expedient thus to dispose of.

The most interesting part of the statement have entered into, is that relating to the aid iven the indigent at their own houses, and hich is extended, as it appears, to no less than 8,986 individuals ; concerning whom I refer to ne annexed statement.

This relief is chiefly administered in kind, nd mostly through the medium of tickets upon ne baker, the butcher, etc. ; relief in money eing reserved chiefly for the aged and in-rm.

This is done by the aid of 12 bureaux of harity or benevolence, one to each of the rrondissements of Paris.

These bureaux are under the superintend-nce of the prefect of the department, and the uncil general, which has charge of the general ninistration of the hospitals, hospices, etc.

Each bureau is composed :

1st. Of the mayor of the arrondissement, s president) and his two adjuncts of the

curate of the parish, and his desservans (cu
or assistants.)

2nd. Of 12 other administrators name
the minister of the interior, renewed e
year by one fourth, according to the orde
their nomination.

3rd. Of an indefinite number of visite
the poor, and "ladies of charity" (ladies
give up their time to charitable pursuits) na
by the bureau, but not assisting at its deli
tions except when invited.

4th. In those arrondissements where t
is a protestant church, of the protestant
gyman.

5th. Of a responsible agent, under the
of secretary and treasurer, who receiv
salary and is obliged to give security.

Out of Paris—

Houses of repression, as established
1793,* have been found not to answer, and

* By a decree of the 20th of May, 1790, two con
were provisionally assigned, one for the reception o
infirm poor, one for the reception and employme
those who were not unfit for labour.

18th of October, 1793, "houses of repression"
formed—establishments in which every able man w
ceived and employed at 3-4ths the ordinary
given in the canton.

Every "Chef-lieu" of a department was to

ow only exist where a number of different mmunes unite to form one.

e of these houses of repression, and every one beg-ng, was to be punished in the first instance with *one* ar's, in the second, with two years' imprisonment. But the most remarkable attempt at a really wise poor w made in these times, was by a decree published May th 1794, commanding the formation of "a book of tional benevolence," divided under three heads :

1. Cultivators, old and infirm.
2. Artizans, old and infirm.
3. Mothers and widows of the same having children.

Under the first head, every poor man, sixty years old, nished with a certificate attesting that he had been ployed for twenty years in the cultivation of the soil, s to receive 160 francs a year.

The number of such persons was fixed at 400 for each partment, and a sum of 7,544,000 francs for this pur-se was placed at the disposal of the commission of blic charities.

Under the second head, all artisans under sixty years , infirm and poor, and who had exercised any industry twenty-five years, were entitled to 120 francs per ann. The number of these was fixed at 200 per department, l the sum allotted 2,040,000.

In respect to the mothers and widows having children, mothers having two children under ten years, and a d at breast; all widows having one child under ten rs and a second at breast, had a claim to the annual rity of sixty francs, and twenty francs additional, if

Here too they act like the two establishme
I have mentioned at the outskirts of Pa
less as charitable than as penal or restric
institutions, and are principally maintained v
a view of preventing the circulation of impr
characters through the country.

Each commune has a bureau of charit
bienfaisance, similar to those bureaux I h
described in Paris, and a *hospice* or hous
reception.

These are supported partly by charitable

at the expiration of the year, they presented their
alive to the agent of the commune.

Six hundred and fifty wives and widows thus situ
and one hundred and fifty widows, who had no chil
and who received considerably less.

The sum here allotted was 3,060,000.

A recompense was also given by the same law
any "*mère filles*," to virgins with children!

The expense of this project, however congenial t
spirit of the time that produced it, was found more
the state, burthened with a war, could bear—and i
remains as a monument of the great and beneficent de
which the madmen of the republic, at the very mo
that they were sending their fellow citizens by batt
to the guillotine, no doubt contemplated:—such ar
contradictions of mankind! and such the injusti
history when it praises or condemns without restric

ests which form a permanent fund, partly by aritable donations, and partly by the sum ted by the municipal council, a sum regued by the wants of the poor and the capacity the commune.

The law still punishes any *valid* beggar with prisonment, and the punishment becomes avier if he begs out of his commune.*

Invalid beggars also, may for the act of begng, be sent to the *hospice* or house of receptn, which, if they have any other means of bsistence, though the accommodation in ost of these houses is good, they hate and oid.

Thus, there are two methods of relief adopt, the one administered at home, to persons cidentally reduced to want, and who wish t to sink into the class of beggars in rpetuity; the other, given in houses of fuge, to persons less sensible of shame, d who would be inclined to imitate indince in order to obtain the occasional luxuries wealth.

* But this law, except in extraordinary cases, where beggar is a known vagabond, or takes no pains to d employment, is rarely enforced. A calculation that es 198,000 beggars in France, states that 500 were victed of begging

But though the people in towns, and mo
particularly in manufacturing towns, seem liab
to distress, it is fair and necessary to say, th
this seems less caused by the real wants th
the improvident habits of the people. I m
cite one instance at Lyons.

The whole land-tax of the department of t
Rhone (in which Lyons is situated) is 2,876,3
francs, and for 10 years prior to 1830, the a
nual amount of money put into the lottery
the town of Lyons alone, was 3,400,000 franc

I subjoin a table which I have taken mu
pains to form, and which states many par
culars relative to the class I am describi
at Paris.

As it may be seen from this table, t
characteristic weakness of the working clas
in France, is the desire for amusement, a
for such amusements as cannot be enjoy
without expense. They waste the Sund
very frequently the Monday or Tuesday,
the guinguettes, the theatre; there is no c

* It might be said, that it was the richer and not
poorer classes by whom this money was subscribed;
objection, however, is met by the fact, that since 18
when the price of the lowest shares was raised to
francs, the produce of the whole decreased by one ha

l over this habit. There is no duty, no ssion to counterbalance it, for there is no igion, or little religion, in the cities more pecially; neither has the education hitherto ren to the working classes, offered more intel-tual resources than the tavern at the *barrière*, the *spectacle* on the Boulevards. The ild, taking to any trade, having received little struction during his boyhood, starts at hteen, to make the tour of France. He es from town to town, contracting, as it is y to suppose, more vices than virtues in his y, and ends either by settling in the capital returning to his native town, with the infor-ation he has thus acquired.

It does not so often happen then, that a r subsistence cannot be acquired in the wns, as that it is either extravagantly ex-nded, or not sought to be procured. The evil remedy is a moral evil, which can only be nedied by moral improvement. The new r on education, must produce its effect; but re is a particular species of education pted to the working classes, adapted espe-ly to the working classes of France, and ch, existing in France, to a certain extent s to be expected, that an intelligent and lanthropic government will attempt to im-

prove. If you tell the man and his wife, v
are just starting off for their Sunday's deba
that they would do much better to come
hear a lecture on painting or chemistry, t
will not be likely to listen very patiently
your injunction. But if you shew ther
beautiful picture, explain its subject, mark
make them remark the characteristics, and
talents of the artist, they will receive y
lesson as an amusement, and have the satis
tion of learning without the suspicion of b
taught. The same may be said of chemistry, e
of astronomy, the illustrations of which I
member seeing when a boy, with a kind of m
terious pleasure, resembling, but far exceed
that which I should have received from a pla

Monsieur le Chevalier, an officer in the
gineers, of very considerable attainments,
stituted shortly after the revolution of Jul
gratuitous course of lectures upon this p
and especially adapted to the working clas
These lectures were delivered in the Thé
Molière, and attended by about 3,00
the working classes of Paris. M. le C
valier would sometimes conduct these me
the Louvre, point out to them the pict
most deserving attention, recount the
tory of the artist, the subject of the piece,

ery day so entertaining a professor found nself surrounded by new disciples.

It is to be regretted that these lectures, ich commenced with the simple intention improving the moral condition of the poor, re afterwards converted to political purposes. e government then found itself obliged to scourage them, and M. Le Chevalier himself andoned his voluntary professorship. Since ich time, though still continued, they are tle attended, and only exist as a memorial of at might be achieved on a similar plan, and ich, if instituted by the government, would under its controul.*

* I shall be much misunderstood, if it be supposed that ean to deny amusements to the poor, and condemn m, as the condition of their destiny, to unceasing toil. t there are amusements which elevate the character, l there are amusements which debase it; amusements ich strengthen the body, amusements which enfeeble There are expenses also which lead to improve- nt and comfort, as there are expenses which lead to ness and want. The money spent in drinking, which n amusement, is better spent on a book, which, read he family, is an amusement also. A more comfortable ce of furniture, a larger and more healthy apartment, rmer clothing;—these are not amusements certainly, the poor man would frequently do well in these res- ts to sacrifice a day's pleasures, in order to procure at will add considerably to his year's happiness. It

It may be asked, of what use is painting, what use is history or chemistry to the poo I answer that all knowledge is useful in so ening the mind, in opening the intelligence all knowledge is useful moreover which cor as a substitute for some more vicious gratifi tion. But a practical illustration is now bef me ;—the best proof for or against a dispu theory.

Travel over France, visit every great town that great empire, where will you find working classes most decent in their behavio most respectable in their appearance ? at Me and why at Metz ? There, there are lectu established and supported by the respecta inhabitants and officers of the town,—lectu on chemistry, history, &c.*

The change which has been produced am the working classes of Metz by these me is something marvellous. It is to be tra immediately in their manners. If you me

is not that I wish to circumscribe the relaxations of poor there, I only wish to give them such relaxatio will not withdraw them from industry nor deprive th their comforts.

* Every person may have a ticket on applying f but if he misses *three* times, his name is erased fro list, and the ticket is forthwith refused to him.

rking man, you find him polite, polished, rrect in his language, easy without being nfident in his conversation. You would take n, if he were not worse dressed and better ormed, for a respectable *bourgeois* of ris.

There seems, I admit, something theoretical these projects of excessive perfection; but in ance—attention is invited to them, not by any nevolent dream of distant philanthropy, nor y prospective consideration for future genera- ns. The wisdom and policy of the day, of hour, call the legislature to active and in- sant preparation for that great scheme of nocracy, now in the first stage of its de- opment, but which is likely, even during the time—of us whose eyes are now open—to ve a prosperous or fatal trial.

There is that sanctity in great names and eds, there is so natural and almost holy a neration implanted in us for antique recollec- ns and superstitions, that it is impossible for iety long to make a stand on the line which arates the mass from the nobility. But that rier once passed, who can for a moment pre- d that all others will not shortly give way? nsieur Thomas and Monsieur de Montmo- cy stand already in the same position before

the state ;—can Monsieur Thomas, who p
200 frs. of direct taxes, and Monsieur Thor
who pays 100 frs. stand long in a different c

It is to this sentiment of their force—
also to the presentiment of their destiny—
to the conviction (forced on them from
tribune, and the stage, by the press and
revolution of July)—it is to the conviction t
they have a power unacknowledged by
state, which power is daily becoming grea
that we may attribute those transient disor
that for the last four or five years have bro
out among the working classes, now exerci
against the government, now against t
masters.

Few countries, indeed, are so called upo
watch over their manufacturing population,
that France which adds all the fickleness
fierceness of its own character to the frequ
variations and occasional severities of c
merce.

Prior to the first revolution, all disp
between the different orders in trade were c
fined to the corporations which had each t
own banner, (forming thus—so few institut
are there without their precedent—a specie
national guard) their own government, t
own laws, their own hierarchy—an hierar
which repressed industry, but regulated

ovements, and infused the conservative irit of an aristocracy into the breast of the tisan and the mechanic.

The revolution which visited the chateau did t spare the workshop—those bodies, the nstitution of which it might have been wiser alter and modify, were at once destroyed. one could any longer say that their talents ere unacknowledged and repressed by the ciety they belonged to; but none could any nger say that they belonged to a society nich had a right to redress their grievances d relieve their wants.

These old associations—condemn them as we ay—gave to every class and to every age an signed and an expected place. The lad on itting his parents found a family in the pro- ssion into which he entered—a family which ofited by his labour, and provided for him nen he was incapable of finding employment. ne master and the workmen then united to- ther to support their trade, instead of strug- ng, as now, to divide its profits. Industry s confined within certain channels and order en peculiar securities.

The abrupt abolition of a vast assemblage of laws, some of which must, even from their

long continuance, have created necessities—
followed shortly afterwards by a succession
new laws, having for their object the restorat
of that discipline which had been too sudde
disarranged.

The decree of 22 Germinal an XI (12 A
1803) and of 9 Frimaire, (1 December, 18
established the livret—a certificate which ev
workman, under the penalty of being treate
a vagabond, is obliged to have.* On this ce
ficate is written his age, the place of his bi
and the name of the person whom he
served, or to whom he was apprenticed.

Here too the money he receives, the de
he incurs, the agreements he enters into,
character he has deserved, are all recorde
On quitting one master, he presents it to
other, whose service he is about to enter :—
manufacturer knows the antecedents of the n
he employs, the police of the man who trav
soi-disant, in search of employment. In t
manner the surveillance of the old corpo
tions has been in some degree restored ;

* The livret has been extended to soldiers and serv
in large towns.

† On entering any service, the master writes the
on the livret ; it must be visited by the police wi
twenty-four hours.

lso in some respect, have been their tribu-
als.

Formerly the mayors, or *achevins des villes*, ometimes the syndics, used to decide upon the isputes between workmen and their masters. uch disputes are now decided by the *conseils es prud'hommes*, first formed 18th March 806. These judges composed in a fair pro-ortion of manufacturers, *chef d'ateliers*, and orkmen, form a popular court, of which it is ifficult to over-estimate the utility.

At Lyons in 1828, out of 3,362 cases, all, xcept 22, were terminated at once, without xpense, to the satisfaction of both parties; aud ie jurisdiction of these councils, the best proof f their advantage, has been extended from fairs of 60 to affairs of 100 francs.

Owing, as many believe, to such regulations, ere were not in France, until within a very few ears, any of those disputes between the manu-cturer and his workmen, against which we ve abandoned all hopes of legislating.*

In a report of the committee appointed in 819 to inquire into the exposition and the

* Any violent attempt at raising wages subjects the par-ipator to one, two, or three months' imprisonment, e promoter to three, four, or five years' imprisonment.

state of manufactures, I find it especially
serted—" que la France a le bonheur de n'
point affligée par ces dissentions qui, d
d'autres contrées, divisent la classe ouvrière
les manufacturiers qui la font travailler."

And if the artisan be less satisfied now,
is not because the events that have since
curred, have lowered his fortunes, but beca
those events have increased his expectati
and given him the idea that his situation i
be raised by a greater share of power from
government, and a greater share of profit fr
the capitalist.

The same cause is at the bottom of the
sociations which are for procuring the " rig
of man," and the heightening of wages—
equality, first founded on theories, and
daily establishing itself in practice.

EQUALITY.

CHAPTER VII.

uality to be discovered in the preceding Chapters—King f England first gentleman in his kingdom—King of the rench first citizen—The effect of the law does in rance what the law did by compulsion in Florence—ocial advantages of equality—Political results uncer-ain—Struggle between opinions and manners, between ocal government and centralization.

What have we seen in France? A popular rature that acknowledges no privileged order critics; a cheap press that addresses itself to classes of readers; a church establishment t embraces all sects of religion; strange phi-ophies founded on the association of all acities; a soil partitioned amongst all ranks

of persons ; an upper class, whose exclu
pretensions are treated with ridicule ; a mi
class possessing great political authority
working class almost independent, and
manding an increase of riches and powe
And are not these things the sign of that
which I take as a title to this chapter ?

"The King of England," said M. Odi
Barrot, "is the first gentleman in his k
dom ;—the King of the French, is the
citizen." The one is the chief of a long ari
cratic hierarchy, the other the ruler ov
people who recognize no other than pers
distinctions.

The principle of equality as understood,
as existing in France is this—A man *ma*
everything ; but he has *no right* to be
thing ; he may be every thing *by ability*, h
no right to be any thing *by privilege*.

What is the question you ask of any on
England ?—*is he gentlemanlike ?*

What is the question you ask of any o
France ?—*A-t-il de l'esprit ?*

In these two questions lie the genius of
nations, which I do not compare, but
trast.

In one, the nobility descends into the
where power is acquired by talent.

In the other, talent, as the consequence of
s power, mounts into the nobility.

Does any one want to know what is repub-
can in the institutions of the French?

That which the law did by compulsion in the
epublican days of republican Florence, is the
mple effect of the law in the intelligent days
monarchical France.

The Capponis were enrolled on the books of
e plebeians, and the Fitz-James's have
escended into the Chamber of Deputies.

"Tous les hommes naissent égaux et libres;
ucun d'eux n'a plus de droit que les autres de
ire usage de ses facultés naturelles ou
quises; ce droit commun à tous n'a d'autre
nite que la conscience même de celui qui
xerce, laquelle lui interdit d'en faire usage
détriment de ses semblables."

These were the words of Mirabeau in pro-
osing that famous declaration "of the Rights
Man," with which the discussions of the
ational Assembly opened, and which the
isting government has ultimately adopted.

For the pleasures of society, and by society
mean every relation of social intercourse,
ere is certainly no comparison between the
fects of those feelings which, in France, bring
the same table every variety of character and

station, and the effects of those opposite
ings which, in England, draw a barrier as
ful as the Rubicon between Mr. Roberts
Mr. Rogers, who are both wholesale or
dealers in mutton suet.

There is a fretfulness about every
position with us, which is positively frig
He is never easy, for there is always
little line of demarcation between himself
his neighbour, which he toils to pass
The aristocracy descends through every
from the golden to the copper of the cou
The Duke of Devonshire is not more excl
than the Duke's poulterer. Society is a
series of little uprising ridges, which, fro
first to the last, offer no valley of re
Wherever you take your stand, you are lo
down upon by those above you, and re
and pelted by those below you. Every
ture you see is a farthing Sisyphus, pus
his little stone up some Liliputian mole
This is our world!

The social advantages, then, that result
equality, are great; the political conseque
that may arise from it are more uncertain.

For there is this to be said of the Fre
a marked difference exists between the
and the habits of that people.

The ideas date from the revolution of 1789, he habits develope a longer history.

The ideas prevent the grand seigneur from ssuming a superiority over the stockbroker. 'he habits have carried down to the stock-roker all the luxuries and some of the airs f the Grand Seigneur.

Who has the best box and the prettiest ancers at the opera? Who has the best horses t the race course? Who is "the fashionable," he *petit marquis* of the epoch?

That young 'agent-de-change,' whose out-pread coat-skirts obscure the fire at the club in he Rue de Grammont, dressed with a simple retension, and talking, with a doctrinal air, of he merits of lobster soup, and ministerial tability.

The Hotel de Montmorency has not been estroyed but let out in apartments, and you ee the traces of the ancient régime in modern ociety, as you find on modern furniture those urious and beautiful old damasks which deco-ated our grandfather's apartments.

The struggle then, is, and has been since the irectorship of Barras between new opinions nd old manners.

Equality is in itself neither republican, as ome people believe, nor anti-republican as

others suppose. It is republican among
poor, anti-republican among the rich; the
it makes jealous of power,—the second it m
anxious for place.

The opinions that agitate one body w
establish a democracy—the desires that pr
among the other would re-establish a c
What reigns is a system of compromise. T
is no hereditary House of Lords, and there
very unpopular law of election. The l
classes are excluded from the government
cause the middle have not left an upper.
is this all; where there is no aristocrac
ease the government of part of its affairs, t
must either be an active and intelligent de
cracy ruling in every village, or a powerful
ministration concentrated in the execu
authority. As the government at one
stripped the people of power, so the pe
have lately been acquiring some rights from
government. But still there is a conflict he
not, as with us, between the middle or
who begin to proclaim equality, and the u
who would maintain privileges; but bet
the community who demand greater loca
thority, and the minister who contends for
serving centralization.

BOOK VI.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

"The very best administration must encounter a reat deal of opposition, and the worst will find more ıpport than it deserves."—*Thoughts on French Revolu-on—Burke.*

CENTRALIZATION.

CHAPTER VIII.

Révolution a désossé la France—Idea of the Con-ention—of Bonaparte—Circumstances of France and ngland in respect to centralization—Late changes in stem in France—Existing administration.

EVERY thing in France is small; France itself reat.

ndividual existence in this country is insig-cant; for where there are no prejudices of h, no great fortunes, no established and d positions, as it were, one man is the centre ut a small circle of considerations. Nor there any bodies, so formed and organized, o interpose between the great masses of the

community, and the executive power of
state. The first revolution, to use an ex
sion attributed to M. de Talleyrand, *unb*
France. The great corporations, to which I l
alluded, and so also the ancient provincial
sions and administrations, every institution
short, which, having local power, placed
check upon, or created any barrier aga
central power, was swept away.

All that law could alter—habits and man
are not within its immediate jurisdiction
did destroy and alter in a moment. Nor
the terrible Triumvirate, over whose d
were written :—" liberty, indivisibility,
death," without a great idea, an idea alw
difficult to realize, difficult then; but pre
upon their attention by foreign war, dome
discord, and that turbulent and sanguin
spirit which it was at once their objec
nourish and controul. " Liberty to all, tyra
over all," was in fact their motto—words no
incompatible as we may suppose; for
simply determine that in proportion to
check which the people have on the gov
ment, should be the power which the
vernment has over the people.

What the men of those times wished,
to make the authority which they said sh

resent the masses, strong ; the citizens over
hom that authority extended, equal.

An enemy's bayonets gleamed on their
ntier, a hostile aristocracy lurked in their
pital, jealous rivalries agitated their pro-
ices. To drive back that enemy, to put
wn that aristocracy, to tranquillize those
lousies one thing was wanted—a system of
ntralization. Who shall blame them for
opting it ?

Bonaparte arrived with a genius just
per to consolidate and regulate what his
edecessors in the revolution had con-
ved ; but into their plans he carried a new
ea.

He looked at things with the eye of a great
ptain.

He saw less perhaps the necessity of
king the nation, over which he was to rule
werful, than that of giving a quick and
id impulsion to its power. What he wished
s to have a government that vibrated at his
ch, whose whole force he was able to com-
e instantaneously, and to drive in one di-
tion. Hence the civil and military system
the empire, intended to unite so many radii
nd a common centre, by the action of

which they were all to be imperativel
trolled.*

There have been various doctrines
pounded, of late years, amongst ourselv
to the excellencies or evils of that sys
unity under which French affairs are ad
tered, and many have considered that we
something to learn, in this respect, fro
neighbours, while others have thought
they had rather much to imitate and adopt
us. In any consideration we give this su
let us carefully separate the circumstan
the two countries to which we would app
same principles.

I have already spoken of the difference
turally created by a great landed gentry,
from their property and station take the
of the government, as it were, and ar
quently able to discharge its duties; be
heavy hands have weighed on Eng
The dominion of the Tudors coming at a

* The principle of centralization, though estab
on very different grounds, pervades, to a certain e
our own government, though this fact is generally
looked. A committee of the House of Commons is but
tribunal to decide upon the propriety of provinci
provement. Here, however, the supreme authority
popular assembly; in France it is the executive pov

, enfeebled by her civil dissensions, she
lastic to every impression, destroyed many
e differences then remaining of her ancient
sions. And now, the multiplication of roads,
anals, the facility and the expedition of
veyances, have so mingled and mixed up
various provinces together, that a slight
ent is all that continues to distinguish their
abitants one from another. England, more-
r, defended by her insular position and her
ritime superiority, has no occasion, in the
inistration of her civil government, to con-
er what may be required as a security from
eign aggression. France, on the contrary, is
continental empire, more likely than any
er, from its situation, and the character of
inhabitants, to be called to arms, and de-
nding, therefore, even in the administration
ich is to govern it in peace an attention to the
inistration which might be required in the
nt of war; moreover, it is impossible for
most casual observer who visits them not
be struck by the motley character of those
ious races now collected under one sway,
held together by the Northern Ocean, the
diterranean, the Atlantic, and the Rhine.
e Briton speaks of France and the French
distinguished from himself, and tells you

that a Frenchman has bought this ch
or lives at that place. In a great pa
France, French is not the language spok
the people ; the west, since the revoluti
1830, may be looked upon as a hostil
subdued country. Ruled by its priests a
women, served by its chivalric nobility a
martial peasantry, superstitious, adventu
determined, difficult to be subdued,—th
stitutions which made it independent v
render it hostile and dangerous. To kee
fanatic south, the irreligious north, the r
lican east, and the royalist west togethe
quiet, no doubt a strong government, qui
its action, and determined in its purpo
necessary, and no wise Frenchman would c
a perfection in the laws of a country that v
tend to the disorganization and dissoluti
the state.

Looking, then, at the equality among
French people, which prevents the local go
ment of an aristocracy—at the position
divisions of France, which render dangerou
uncontrolled local government of a democra
centralization if an evil, is almost an e
necessity, and cannot be abandoned, th
perhaps, it may yet be capable of fu
modification. Already, as I have said

ges have taken place since the destruction
e empire, and more especially, since the
ution of July, and over these changes
it of wisdom and moderation has prevailed.
naintain the unity of the state, to stimulate
energies of the provinces, and to set
nds to the authority of the executive go-
nment seem to be the triple object
er which these alterations ought to have
n undertaken, and have been accomplished.
Here the general councils have been made
ctive, the judges immoveable. There, the
mation of a local force, on popular principles,
placed a check upon the unlimited power
the regular soldiery.

But as the best key to this subject I will give
apid sketch of the civil and military admi-
tration of the country.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATIO

CHAPTER IX.

Minister of Finance and system of Taxation—Mi
Justice and Judicial system—Minister of Poli
the origin, effect and attributes of that office—M
of Commerce, Commercing Chambers, etc.—M
of instruction, system of education, etc.—Minist
Interior, and departmental and government di

FINANCE.

In the Minister of Finance centres t
ministration of the public revenue, the n
debt, and the mint.

He superintends the assessment and
tion of taxes, direct and indirect; and

e to whom all the other ministries ad-
their accounts seems the most proper to
on first.
s after having received the estimates of
lifferent administrations, that this mi-
determines how much will be requi-
or the service of the coming year, and
oses in advance a budget accordingly.
ne budget of the state fixed, the object is
ecure its payment: and in order to un-
tand how this is done, it is necessary to
w from what sources the public revenue
eeds.
he most important of these are the direct
indirect taxes. The direct taxes are:
The house and land tax in proportion to
clear annual income.
The poll tax, extending to all but the very
, and amounting to the value of three days'
ur.
The door and window tax.
The licences to trade.*
rom the nature of these taxes it is neces-
first, to provide for their distribution, and
ndly, for their perception.

*The licences must be paid for when issued, except in particular cases.

In respect to the distribution, the
proposes to the chamber in his bu
contingent of each department for
poll tax and window tax. The counc
departments fix the proportion to be
their arrondissements, and the counci
arrondissements the proportion to be
their communes.*

A list of tax-payers is drawn up ev
years, stating the names of each in
and the nature, and the amount of the
which he is liable.

This list, annually supervised, is
the prefect every year, on or before th
January, and then becomes available. T
taxes are made payable by twelfths,
tax-payer can be called upon the first
month for the taxes of the months pr

Such taxes are collected by collecto
in every department by the minister
out of a list presented by the prefect‡

* The prefect fixes the house tax in the d
and the sub-prefect in the arrondissements.

† Those who have not paid their twelfth or
the month are liable to proceedings, which co
a notice.—2. Summons.—3. Seizures.—4. S

‡ They must, however, be consented to
ceivers, who are responsible for them.

day, in large towns at shorter periods, they pay the sums levied to authorities appointed hat purpose. These authorities are sta- d in every arrondissement, under the of receivers of arrondissement, and are all rdinate to the receiver-general of the de- ment, who is responsible for their inte- *

he indirect taxes are :

. On drink (i. e. wine, beer, and spirituous ors.)

. Produce of the sale of the monopolies unpowder and tobacco.†

. Tenth of all the commercial octrois.

. Miscellaneous.

Public carriages.

Cards.

Salt at the pits, and in the country.

On stamps guaranteeing the quality of rticles fabricated in gold and silver.

On passage of bridges, &c.

A commune which has a revenue of 20,000 frs. has ceiver also.

The persons allowed to sell these articles, take them n the government at a certain price, and are allowed heir remuneration, to sell them at another.

5. Registration stamps.*

6. Post and lottery.†

The machinery of receipts is the sa
for the direct taxes.

Directors of direct and indirect taxe
appointed to superintend the method o
ception, and functionaries called, "inspe
general," who, travelling over the co
may take any district by surprise, k
watchful and constant controul over th
counts.

But the finance ministry is not only ch
with the collection of the public reven
is also charged with the payment of the
expences. The machinery it employs is
fore of a double nature.

By the side of the 'receiver gene
the department, there is a paymaster f
department also. The receivers are i
the government *bankers*, and the paym
the government *agents*.

The receiver general, for instance, h
much in hand, on account of the tre

* The rest of the receipts is composed of the r
of public lands, of falls of timber, produce of the c
from gaming houses, profits from coinage, &c.

† Lottery is now abolished.

is department. The treasury issues a date, or draws a draft, in favour of the aster, to be applied to a particular use; paymaster receives the money and exe- the commission.

at as the speedy transition of the funds, the public debtor to the public creditor, e great object of the government, a board tablished, called the 'bureau de fonds,' is special purpose. Every ten days the nts of the receivers general are sent to board, which thus knowing the funds the state has to dispose of, in each part of ountry, transmits a daily account thereof e ministry, according to which, the public ents are regulated.*

e different state establishments in each e eighty-six departments, therefore, whe- military, clerical, or judicial, are defrayed, r as possible, by the receipts of that of the country in which they are situated.† e speedy collection, secure deposit, and

he minister, therefore, can see at a glance, what are disposeable in every part of the empire.

ut, as this cannot always take place, a transfer of e is sometimes necessary; and this transfer is ted to cost annually 2,900,000 frs.

rapid payment of the public money, thus provided for, the only remaining to desire, is the clearness and correctne the accounts through which these diff movements of cash are to be traced.

The system of accounts in France, to v our attention was first called by Sir H. nell, has since that time considerably occ the attention of parliament; and Dr. Bow commissioned for that purpose, has publ reports that might be more clear and voluminous perhaps, but which are still h interesting and creditable to their author.

The merit of the French accounts their system; a system which comprise utmost detail on the one hand, and the u centralisation on the other.

To effect this—the first thing necessa that all accounts, based on a recapitu of the most minute particulars, should be by all parties in certain similar and spe forms, and ultimately brought under one devised central.

The persons who receive for the rece the receivers, and the receivers general selves, must all then maintain a general jo and ledger, in which every transaction i

ed, as it takes place, and afterwards copied
an organized shape under leading heads.
opies of these journals and ledgers, toge-
vith the statement for which they furnish
naterials, are transmitted at short in-
s to the ministry of finance, as are the
ts and vouchers of the paymasters. In
office they are entered, and centralised
e books of the cashier general, who is
e head of the receivers general, and in
ooks of the paymaster general, who is
head of the paymasters.
us, every fact, whether of receipt or pay-
, is a matter of daily record and of ar-
d report to the central financial authori
while the cashier's and general paymas-
accounts are again centralised by being
ht before a board; called the 'compta-
générale!' which compares every state-
and looks into every account.
e Cour des comptes,* as a judicial board,
finally as a check upon the 'comptabilité

his court is composed of a first president and of
presidents of chambers, of eighteen master coun-
and eighty referee councillors, of a king's advo-
d a chief clerk; and was first organised during
pire, in September 1807.

générale,' which is purely a financial board as the one sees whether the different

For its ordinary business, the court is divide three chambers, each composed of a president a master councillors.

The first, or chief president, presides over the cha united, or when he pleases, over any particular cha He distributes the accounts to the referees, and in the chamber to which they are to make their He has, in short, the general controul of his and the three chambers. In his absence his pl supplied by the senior president of the other cha

The presidents have the direction of the busin their respective chambers; and distribute to the councillors who form them, the affairs or the ac of which they are to report.

The referee councillors are charged with the ve tion of the accounts submitted to them, and m said to fulfil the duty of auditors as well as accoun

The king's advocate takes care that the public a and receivers transmit their accounts within the prescribed by law. He also sees that the cha hold their sittings regularly, and that the refere their duty. It is to him that the prefects addre public accounts of their departments when there a disputes concerning them. The correspondence wi ministers for the excution of the decrees or orders court, is also entrusted to him.

The chief clerk receives the accounts and vo from the public officers, and has the charge of all p

ons are rightly stated, so the other deter-
es whether they formally and legally took
e.

t is after this various superintendance that
public accounts come back at last, collected
the hands of the minister, by whom they
e originally proposed, and who is charged
i their defence.

t is impossible, in so short a space, to
nore than give this general outline*, which
, however, suffice to show the main parts
hat machinery by which the cash concerns
mighty state are conducted with a pre-
on and regularity that is rare in the affairs
private commercial establishment.

now only remains to notice the local
enses.

hese are in part defrayed by a portion of
neral tax, proposed by the minister in his
get, and called centimes additionnels†, a
ain amount of which, set apart for such

I have endeavoured to disembarrass this statement
ich as possible, from all minor details.

† The centimes additionnels consist of 36 cents. on the
tax; 36 on the personal and furniture tax; 16 on
ouse and windows; 4 on the patents.

charges, is paid by the receivers to the masters who defray them. What remain met by the budgets of the departments, o towns of chef-lieu, and of the communes.

The budgets of the departments have fo ceipts the centimes additionnelles, which vote as supplementary to those, I have ready mentioned, as voted for their use b chambers.

Their expenses are those of the prefec central houses of detention, royal de mental roads, etc.

The towns of chef-lieu have the same sp of receipt and expense as the communes, it is to the budget of the latter that we especially to look for local expenses.

These budgets, which must be approve the sub-prefect, if the commune has only francs ordinary revenue; by the prefect, i 100 to 100,000 francs; and by a royal ordi if above that sum, are all transmitted t minister of finance, who has thus befor the whole expenses, local as well as gene the kingdom.

The revenues of the communes are or and extraordinary. The ordinary revenue five additional centimes on each individual,

licences, fines for various misdemeanours, for non-service in the national guard, s, customs, right of location in halles, , markets, ports, walks, etc., fees for inistration acts, income from woods, ributions to the service of the high-s.

he extraordinary revenues are: credit ba-e of last account, interest of funds invested he treasury, sale of moveables, immoveables nds, legacies and donations, price of ex-rdinary cutting of forests, rates to supply iency of ordinary revenues, loans and dental receipts.

he disbursements of a commune are also or-ry and extraordinary. The ordinary dis-ements are expenses of local administration vers, collectors, payeurs, etc. expenses of munal property, national guard and barracks, laws, public instruction, religion, public vals and unforeseen expenses. The extra-nary disbursements are unusual expenses of inistration, purchase of property, heavy re-etc. extraordinary expenses of national ds, extraordinary expenses of public es-shments, public instruction or religion, nent of arrears, law expenses, accidental nses, etc.

The hospitals and bureaux de bienfais
as far as they have funds of their own,
a separate budget.

The whole receipts and expenses 1832,
as follows:

	RECEIPTS.	EXPEN
	frs.	frs.
General budget, in which are included the centimes additional, voted by the departments	1,064,031,269	1,106,61
Budget of communes . .	161,786,000	147,57
Towns of chef-lieu . . .	69,362,870	68,13
Hospitals and houses of reception, either from gifts, legacies, or the like, and produce of the work of persons employed .	51,222,063	48,84
Bureaux de bienfaisance* do	10,315,746	8,95
Total	1,356,717,975	1,380,1

JUSTICE.

To the Minister of Justice is intruste
organisation and surveillance of the
judiciary system.†

* Bureaux of charity.

† The transmittal of all orders and instructions

he judicial system in France, much ca-
niated because little understood, is cer-
ly not so defective as we are apt to consi-
it, and contains a mixture of diffused and
tralised power well worthy of attention.
here is the authority that pursues and the
iority that judges: we will consider each.
authority that pursues, is called " the public

l courts, and other tribunals for the execution of the
and regulations promulgated.
or instance, the correspondence with the advocates-
eral and advocates of the king on all matters com-
ed to the surveillance of the minister.
he duty of reporting to the king on matters of legis-
n, on the administration of justice, on the conflicts
veen the civil and judicial authorities, regarding natu-
ation, marriage, change of name, etc., as well as on
ters regarding pardons, commutations of punish-
ts, etc.
he decisions of the courts royal, which pronounce or
irm the censure or reprimand of a magistrate, cannot
out in execution unless they have been approved by
keeper of the seals, who has the power to order into
presence the members of the courts and tribunals, as
as of their officers, to explain all the charges which
be imputed to them.
he measures of discipline and regulation adopted by
courts and tribunals must also be submitted for his
robation, and without it can have no effect.

ministry," *(le ministère public)* and is a
social power charged with the preservatio
order and tranquillity, and the punishmen
those by whom the laws, in respect to t
blessings, are infringed.

This power is, in fact, a personificatio
the community it protects. An individu
injured—the public ministry pursues the
minal, not for the sake of the individual
for the sake of the public of which he for
part; and the prosecution of course t
place at the public expense.*

The public ministry though one, in its
ject, is composed of a variety of separate
divergent authorities. The principal of t
are the procureurs-généraux and the p
reurs-du-roi.

There are in France, twenty-seven c
royal and three hundred and sixty-five trib
of the first instance: at the chef-lieu† of

* There may, however, be two parts of the same
one public and one private. For instance, an indi
has been robbed of £200—the public ministry
secutes the robber for the crime—the person robbe
secutes him to recover the money. Here the minist
nothing to do with the money—the person robbed n
to do with the crime.

† Capital

ese courts royal there is a procureur-gé-
l and at the chef-lieu of each department,
ocureur-du-roi.

ll the procureurs-du-roi within the juris-
on of a court royal, are under the control
e procureur-général, follow his directions,
act in his name.

he different procureurs-généraux are alto-
er independent of each other, and there
ld be no common bond between them but
the establishment in the centre of France
minister of justice.

his minister, however, has not in point of
, the power of forcing the procureurs-gé-
ux to act as he wishes.

till, he has in reality this power, since he can
rive them of their office if they act contrary
is wishes.

o far the whole machinery of the prose-
on is calculated for energy and force, and
ht be terrible as an instrument of despotism,
ot placed under some efficient control.

his control over the power that pursues,
ts in the power that judges.

he first is centralized round the executive
hority, the second has a dispersed and in-
endent existence.

The procureur-du-roi, who looks up to
procureur-général; the procureur-général,
looks up to the minister of justice, ma
considered one and the same person. Bu
procureur-du-roi, removeable at pleasure
only bring the culprit before a magistrate
is immoveable, who has no orders to rec
either from the procureur-du-roi, or
the procureur-général, or from the mi
of justice, and this humble and simple m
trate can at once disarm all the well orga
and terrible force of the public ministry.

The judicial powers are thus arranged
every arrondissement has a procureur-d
so every arrondissement has one juge
truction* and two assistant judges.

In the same manner, as every divisio
a procureur-général, it has also a court
and in proportion to the facility and the
given to the executive authority for prosec
the culprit, is the difficulty laid in the way
being rashly and improperly condemned.
course of procedure is as follows: John

* The number varies according to the importa
the place, and the business there is to do; but
must be three at least.

nges the law—a police agent, or the party ieved, applies to a commissary of police, ief of gendarmerie, a mayor, or a justice* eace, or it may be to the procureur-du-roi. ne procureur sends a minute of what has stated to the juge d'instruction; a sum- s to appear, or an order to be brought be- the bench is issued against the accused. Here juge d'instruction questions, examines, re- s or commits him;† for without a warrant, no en can be confined more than twenty-four s. When the juge d'instruction considers e is good ground for a prosecution, he endea- s to find clear proofs of the supposed crime, this stage of the proceedings is peculiarly e to abuse. The juge d'instruction, with the ral bias of a lawyer, is too apt to feel a pride ncing the prisoner's guilt in the clearest light e the tribunal by which he is to be tried. He herefore, far more anxious to find precise s of the culpability of the accused than fear- deprive him of liberty if he should be in- nt.

he mayor is only where there is no commissaire ce.

ne great fault of this proceeding is that it is private.

When at last, however, he thinks his ca
clear as it can be made, the prisoner is bro
before the chamber of council—i. e. b
three judges, of whom the juge d'instructi
the arrondissement is one. This court de
whether there is ground for proceeding
the cause or not. If the three judges d
in the negative, the prisoner is released
he may perhaps have previously endured
or nine months' imprisonment without
There is, however, a check on this a
Every month the juge d'instruction is ob
to state to his two assistants why he does
try the prisoners, and they can either a
or overrule his reason. Sometimes this
mere form, since the three judges ma
very good friends, and confide in each
But if a prisoner is urgent for a quick tria
the public shew interest in the matter,
judges apply to the case, and there is
dom avoidable delay. This part of the cri
law, however, requires reform—abuses
and do, arise.

The accused has thus had two opportu
of being released: one by the juge d'in
tion, at his first examination, the other b
chamber of council. He has one more.

ıber of accusation, composed of so many bers of the cour royale,* an independent, ɔveable court, may still declare that there cause for proceeding to judgment. But ld the three courts concur in finding ɔrisoner guilty, he is then tried at the es. A member of the cour royale presides. ury of thirty-six persons is chosen by t, from tax-payers to the amount of 200 s, to which physicians, barristers, etc. a right, on account of their profession y, to belong. Before trial the pri- and the public accuser each strike off The president is assisted by two fel- members of the cour royale, who weigh him the due punishment of the offen- and any mistakes that may have arisen ıe procedure. The procureur-général the trial, states the grounds of pro- on, names the witnesses, etc. The t-général then appeals to the jury to do e to the outraged community. After

cour royale must be composed of at least twenty- uncillors, and is divided into different chambers— least for civil causes, as I shall mention presently, correctional police, and one chamber of accusa-

which the president interrogates the prise
too often* with an evident desire to entra
convict him. Questions so put, justify t
solence of the accuser, who sometimes ar
impatiently and disrespectfully: thus
from justice much of the awe, which,
gravely and impartially administered, it
inspire.

The president next examines the witn
The prisoner and his counsel have the
advantage of cross-examining them, of
ing or explaining the facts which they de
and, consequently, of dissipating ever
favorable impression at the very mom
arises; but this advantage is more than
ter-balanced by the supposition on whic

* The interrogation of the prisoner too often p
an unjust or a ridiculous effect. If the presider
able man, and the accused not so, the latter is to
self-convicted at the very outset of the trial; an
the contrary, as sometimes is the case in politica
the prisoner has more ability than his interroga
perplexes, confounds, crushes, degrades him, ar
of all dignity the prosecution by which society vi
its rights.

It would surely be more just, more reasonable,
the evidence against the prisoner, and let him r
as well as he could, and omit the interrogati
together. Girod de l'Aine never questions the ac

trial proceeds, viz: that the prisoner
lty until he is found innocent—and not,
h us, innocent until he has been proved
. After the witnesses have given their
nce, the avocat-général sums up the facts
t the accused, and endeavours to convince
eason and influence the passions of the
The prisoner's counsel then rises, and
his view of the evidence before them.
risoner himself may now speak in his own
ce, and is always allowed to speak last.
resident should next sum up, with an im-
lity more desirable than common, the facts
case. The jury then declare the prisoner
or not guilty. This is the extent of their
. The court determines the punishment
ding to law on the demand of the avocat-
al.

ay mention that if the prisoner cannot
pleader, the president is obliged to
nt one,—who receives 10 francs if his
is condemned, and something more if
acquitted.*

is a very common practice with the counsel thus
d to give their fee to the poor client. This is a
instance of good feeling among the French avocats,
e often men of great moral courage and worth.

Should the president assign the first
in the court, common usage admits no d

Those infringements of the law which co
der the term '*délits*' (or 'offences') in the
code—I have been speaking of crime
punished in a different and more summar
The court of arrondissement, in which th
curred, deciding upon them at once, bu
ject to an appeal to the cour royale;—
tice of peace or a tribunal of police can
petty offences.†

The courts which serve for the crimi
also used for the civil law. The jus
peace decides questions of trifling an
the court of sessions, consisting of th
d'instruction and his two colleagues,
finally all cases under 1000 francs, to che
spirit of litigation that would prolong t
little consequence. The court royal, a

* This never occurs in Paris, where the young
gladly exercise their eloquence for the poor; bu
happen, not unfrequently, in the departments.

The length of the trial, and the support of w
make criminal proceedings very expensive in Fra
would seem just for the public to pay the expens
innocent.

† '*Délits*' (or 'offences') of the press are an ex
these are tried by a jury, or by the new law,
to be called '*attentats*' (treason) by the chamber

peal, to which may be carried all cases of
than 1000 francs, is final. But the mi-
r of justice may object to any decision
seems to him inconsistent with the written
te law.

ormerly the parliaments were independent
ach other ; each decided according to its
precedents and views. Their decisions
efore not unfrequently clashed ; the law in
rent provinces was not the same. To re-
y this abuse, the King, from time to time,
ared in council that such and such a con-
tion of the law was the only true one.
ourse this threw the law into the hands of
King and council.

o secure the advantages without the defects
his system, was the origin of the court of
ation. If a decision in any civil or
inal case appears to the minister of
ice contrary to law, he complains of it to
court of cassation. If this court declares
the cour royale has decided illegally, the
le case is referred to another tribunal. If
jury in a criminal, or the court in a civil
e decide contrary to the opinion of the
t of cassation, that court assembles all its
nbers, and reconsiders the case. Its first
sion might be formed by half. If the full

court of cassation confirms the first decre
cause is carried before another court,
this court decides as the two others, the
is finished; but the minister is bound
before the chamber in the next session a
clear up the doubtful point. In civil cas
aggrieved individual prefers his com
against the aggressor, except in the c
minors, idiots, persons absent, etc.; fo
the minister of justice is bound to sp
favor of the plaintiff after his advocat
spoken. In all other cases, the avocat-g
has a right, if he pleases, to state his o
to the court; he frequently uses this pri
but is not obliged to do so.*

Commerce has its separate tribunals,

* There is also at Paris a court, consisting o
d'instruction and assistant, for the dispatch of
It sits constantly in the Palace of Justice, and
whether or no the person summoned before it o
be committed or not. The case is then referred
ther juge d'instruction.

I may observe that the prefect of police,
existing only in Paris, has a right of search in
dwellings, and can put any one under confine
twenty-four hours. He cannot, however, impri
one for a longer time without the authority of
d'instruction.

ever, are still under the ministry and sur-
ance of the minister of justice. These
unals exist in those arrondissements that
uire them.*

hey are composed of a presiding judge, of
ges and supernumerary judges, all chosen
ng the merchants the most respectable, and
ed at a meeting of merchants. The King
es the nomination.

he presiding judge must be forty years of
, and is chosen from the most ancient
ges. The other judges must be thirty years
ge, and have been engaged in commerce at
t five years.

he president and the judges remain but two
rs in office, and can only be re-elected after
interval of a year.

heir functions are honorary.†

dvocates are not allowed to plead before
tribunal, but any other person can plead
uthorised. Custom has allowed certain
sons to plead who are authorised and ad-
ed by the tribunal, under the title of *agréé*,

n those arrondissements where there are no tribunals
mmerce, the civil tribunals are applied to instead.

A clerk and attendant officer, named by the govern-
, are attached to each tribunal.

an individual as the name would imply, duty it is to bring the disputing parties amicable settlement or agreement.

The tribunals of commerce take cogn of—first, all disputes relative to engage and transactions between merchants bankers, and between all personal dispute which commerce enters. Secondly, all putes between commercial agents and principals; and thirdly, all disputes that cern bankruptcy.

The decisions of this court are final in not exceeding 1000 francs, (or £40) in other mercantile cases, where the beforehand forego their right of appeal; wise the appeals from the tribunal of com are carried to the court royal of their dis

Such is the French judicial system, lia abuses, as all institutions are, and more tially subject to those abuses which a abuses of the law, but against the law, res from the mind and manners of the peo whom and for whom it is exercised.

These are principally the detention of nals on inadequate proofs, (though the freq of this is rather exaggerated) and th too frequently seen in the mind of the ju favor of that power to which he owes h thority.

great contempt for personal liberty, and a
ng leaning towards the executive govern-
t result necessarily from the history and
ts of the French; and to that history and
e habits the present generation must at all
ts be subject.

ut a time, I hope, will come when a new
eration educated in new ideas will put this
hinery in motion with a different spirit.
he following remarks may not be without
rest.

he expenses of justice amount to about
2,000frs.* distributed amongst:

Persons brought before the correctional tribunal . . .	35,486frs.
Brought before the Cours d'Assises.	7,315 „
Liberated by the chambers of conseil.	10,044 „
By the chambers of accusation.	779 „
Total. .	53,620frs.

iving an expense of about 56frs. 55 cents.
ndividual.

n 1833, the number of persons arrested and
issed without trial by the chambers of

*The charge is 3,300,000frs.; but of this a certain sum
oject to recovery.

conseil, endured a captivity of 7,910 mo
by the chamber of accusation, 1,670 mon

Again the persons judged by the correc
tribunals were condemned to 34,490 m
imprisonment.

The persons judged by the courts of as
26,350 months. Total 70,420 months,
5,869 years.

From this statement, we see the numb
persons dismissed without trial, and the
of their imprisonment; the number of pe
brought up to trial, and the time of their
demnation; and lastly by comparing the
ber of individuals in prison with the nu
of months of their imprisonment, and allo
an expense of about 27frs. 10 sous* to
individual, and adding that to the 56frs.
already mentioned, we shall make the su
56frs. 55c. } 89frs. 5c.† as the average co
27frs. 10c. }
every person arrested.

* See reports of the minister of justice and budg

† This is higher than the estimate allowed,
200frs. for each individual—but I add to this the
sumed cost of maintaining the buildings of admi
tion, &c.

POLICE.

.s a fitting instrument of the public minis-
which pursues the crime, is the ministry
olice which watches and apprehends the
inal.

t the head of this ministry is the minister
olice,* who has in the department of the
e an active agent in the prefect of po-
And, indeed, as it is chiefly in Paris
the business of minister of police lies,
officer, subordinate to him in the capi-
is an important personage, and almost a
ster himself.

nder his inspection are placed all the pri-
in the department of the Seine, all the
ling establishments, all the houses licensed
prostitution. He sees that peace is pre-
d at the markets, and in places of public
hip—attending in every thing to the clean-
s and good order of the city.

e can order searches in private houses,
t, in urgent cases, and take any means
ay think proper to disperse or prevent

he functions of minister of police are for the mo-
absorbed in the department of the minister of the
r; still they are to be considered as attached to a
te department.

numerous and tumultuous meetings, t
once seize, and commit all persons t
flagrant délit, (in the fact.)

The officers under him, are:

Les commissaires de police. (Comm
of police.)

Les officiers de paix. (Peace officers

Les commissaires de police de la
(Commissaries of police attached to t
change.)

Les commissaires de la petite voirée.

Les commissaires et inspecteurs des
et marchés. (Commissaries and inspe
the market halls and public markets.)

Les inspecteurs des ports. (Inspe
harbours.)

In the provinces, except under pecu
cumstances, such as that of La Vend
police rarely acts, save in its subordina
cities; but in all cases the prefects of the
ments execute in their respective juri
the duties that would be required from
de police; and the provincial agents
ministry are placed under them.

The whole service centralizes itself
in two bureaux—the one relating to th
of the police, and the other to its a
tration.

ıe duties of the minister too, are of a
ıle nature :
ıose relating to the criminal police.
hose relating to the political police.
s the head of the criminal police, the gen-
ıerie,* the pompiers, and that class of per-
which would answer to our description of
Street runners, are at his orders: as the
l of the political police, he directs and corres-
ls with an army of spies, taken from every
s of society and to be encountered in almost
y scene of life. The system of passports
r which he presides affords to his functions,
re exercised for the preservation of pro-
y, a peculiar efficiency, which though ob-
ed at the expense of personal liberty, the
en, long accustomed to it, is willing to
hase at that price. But his most despotic
as it is called important employment is
of watching over the safety of the state;
hich is in fact prying into the conduct of
y individual, who can be supposed hostile
he administration in power.
trange to say, this practice, abominable

This force, centralized in the ministry I am des-
ng, follows the division of other parts of the French
nistration; every arrondissement has its troop—
chef-lieu its colonel.

and useless as it is, has been preserved t
a long series of years, and under almos
species of government without interr
Introduced into France by Louis XI,
sorted to by the Medici against the prote
it was soon after systematized by Ric
and pursued with equal ardour by the
and crafty character of his Italian
sor.

Louis XIV, Louis XV, and even Loui
continued it, and indeed, one of the fi
mands of the National assembly was th
lition of a bureau* called especially
du roi, and which was charged wi
shameful duty of opening private cor
dence.

The government of the Convention, t
the system of espionage was never p
more infamously practised than by itse
avowed the principle of that violation
cial confidence, as it did indeed the p
of all its tyrannies. But the unblushing

* A curious set of documents, found in the B
1789, were afterwards published, and among ot
ous facts, it was discovered that in one year,
Paris alone, two hundred priests had been ca
grante delicto.

' avowed and justified it, and Bonaparte
ltiplied its dignities and duties in a manner
ost ludicrous. Then came the Restoration
oing the country in a perpetual state of alarm
plots supposed, sought after, and undisco-
ed: and now, the new government is almost
ctive as its predecessors, in the pursuit of
ry paltry intrigue; and yet, did all the
nts of Napoleon discover the conspiracy
Mallet? Did all the agents of Monsieur de
ignac breathe a warning whisper of the re-
ution of July? and here again, under the go-
nment of Louis-Philippe, Don Carlos quietly
verses his kingdom, and an Italian adven-
er almost succeeds in blowing up his family
his court; and even M. Thiers—the clever,
ve, indefatigable M. Thiers—is just as wise
the rest of the world about the matter.

INSTRUCTION.

As the system of public prosecution is con-
ted under the title of 'ministère public,'
he system of instruction, which in France
lso an affair of the state, is conducted
he name of 'the university'—the minister of

instruction* being appointed the grand-
thereof.

'The university,' to adopt this expr
is charged exclusively with the care of
ing; and no school of any description
carried on without its express authoriz
Under the minister of instruction then
is the 'conseil royal de l'instruction publ
composed of six members, whose dut
to superintend every thing relative to t
penses required by the public establish
as well as the books to be used and the
of education to be followed therein.

Such being the central board of admi
tion, France is divided into divisions of i
tion called '*académies*,' (academies) whi
situated in the chefs-lieu of the different

* The minister of instruction is also ministe
ligion; but there remains little for me to s
that subject.

† In order to keep in use the regulations pres
the university, whether of discipline or teachi
are two inspecteurs-généraux who are charged
continual examination and inspection of the
establishments for education—both in respect to
ters or pupils.

‡ The royal council of public instruction.

,l, and every academy has a governor
ıg as minister of instruction in his cir-
scription, and assisted by a 'conseil aca-
ique,' (academic council) answering to the
ıseil royal,' (royal council) at Paris.
he different public establishments within
ı academy are classed under one of the
owing heads:
. The faculties.
. The royal colleges. The communal
eges.
. Institutions and schools (private establish-
ıts.)
. Primary schools (public or private.)
he establishments for instruction being
s classed, instruction has also its classi-
ion.
uperior instruction.*
econdary instruction.
rimary instruction.
uperior instruction consists in the faculties,
ded into classes of theology, droit, méde-
, science, and letters which confer the de-

There is also attached to the department of supe-
instruction, eighteen secondary schools of mede-
and one establishment for the instruction of pro-
rs at Paris.

grees of bachelier, licencié, and docteur, lor, licenciate, and doctor).

The places where the faculties are answer to our universities: — of the are in France 35.

Instruction secondaire (secondary inst consists, in philosophy, natural histo mentary mathematics, latin, greek, fore guages, &c.

These are taught in the royal an munal colleges, which answer to ou schools; and in some of the private lishments I have mentioned. There France:

Royal colleges, 39.
Communal colleges, 320.
Private colleges, 2.
Private institutions, 120.
Small private schools, 1,025.

Primary instruction is divided in branches, primary superior instructio primary instruction. The first con reading, writing, summing, history, geo and some notion of chemistry and su The second, simply in reading, writi summing.

here were in 1832 fifty schools for the
ation of masters of primary education,
sixteen more were then about to be formed :
number of primary schools is upwards of
00 ; of which, nearly 32,000 are com-
al ; the rest are private.
these different establishments there are
ers, about 10,000.
cholars :

erior instruction	16,303
ondary instruction. . . .	71,036
ary instruction	1,935,624
	2,062,963

y comparing the number of pupils with the
expended in secondary and primary in-
ction, (board of course not included)
ry pupil at a royal college re-

ives his education for . . .	162f. 65
——commercial college .	87f. 17
——primary school . .	4f. 15

he royal colleges are supported by their
funds, by a grant from the university
by a royal donation of 601,500frs. which
to the education of scholars who dis-
uish themselves.

Communal colleges are supported
funds they may possess, and by departi
and communal contributions. It is
voured to have one of these colleges i
arrondissement.*

The funds then applied to the gene
penses of instruction proceed from th
of the budget—the monies belonging
university, now consolidated and left a

* Primary instruction is paid by the commu
the departments, and by the state. Every com
obliged, either by itself or by uniting with anot
mune, to have at least one school of instruction
All communes having more than 6000 inhabit
obliged, besides, to have a school of instruction
supérieure and every department is obliged, e
itself or by uniting with another department, t
normal[a] school of primary instruction. In the
tary schools, all the pupils that the municipal co
clare incapable of paying, receive instruction gra

In every primary superior school, there are
number of places given to pupils who cannot
who distinguish themselves in examination.

A committee is appointed in every commune
every arrondissement to overlook, and assist
struction of their particular district. Much
stated in the Introduction, Vol. I. France, S
terary and Political.

[a] A school for the education of schoolmasters

times to former establishments, for the
oses of education—the revenues of the
communal colleges—and the votes of the
ils-généraux (general council) of the de-
nents, and of the conseils-municipaux
icipal council) of the communes; and
funds, most of themcalled for by the
nment, are all applied under the regula-
of the government towards the attainment
e object in view.*

COMMERCE.

ie minister of this department, whose func-
have also been sometimes appended to
e of the minister of the interior, had his
es fixed in 1814, and presiding over every
connected with commerce, except its tri-
ls, is the centre of a variety of chambers
ed for the purpose of promoting commercial
manufacturing interests.

Besides these establishments dependent upon the
rsity, there is, independent the 'collège of France,'
hich the professors, named by the minister of in-
ion on a double presentation from the establish-
and the Institute are so justly celebrated.

There are, for instance, in the grea
mercial and manufacturing towns, ch
authorized by the King, and compose
certain number of merchants called "
bers of commerce."*

The duty of these chambers is to
known to the minister, with whom they
correspond, their views both as to what
improve, or as to what injuriously aff
commercial interests of the towns they
to.

There are also chambers of a similar
called " chambers of arts and manufa
which have for their object the impro
of manufactures by the experiments
and science.

The " council general of commerce
more central council resident at the sea
vernment, composed of one person fro
chamber of commerce, and of twenty
from among the principal merchants of
This council expresses its opinion to t
nister on all questions of legislation o

* When these chambers are in the capital of
ment, they are presided over by the governmen
wise, their president is the mayor of the commu

tion relative to the commerce of the ry, and is consulted on all laws that are duced in respect to this subject.

is names eight, Lyons, Marseilles, Bour-, Nantes, Rouen, and Havre, two.

ere is then the " conseil général des ufactures" composed of twenty members d for three years by the chambers of arts manufactures, and of forty members named e minister of commerce with the approba- f the King.* This second council holds the situation in respect to manufactures that ouncil does to commerce.

e " conseil supérieur de commerce" is ll body of twenty-four persons named by ing, a sort of privy council for the mi-, who can consult it in respect to the nds or views of the two other councils are representative.

us the whole system beginning with the bers of commerce and manufactures, con- centralizing, through the councils of erce and manufactures, and then through

n members of the council of commerce belonging manufacturing town, also have the permission it.

the conseil supérieur de commerce unti
it arrives at the minister himself.

THE MINISTRY OF THE INTE

The duties of this functionary* reser
a great measure, those of our secretary
home department, and when stripped of
cidental functions he is now invested w
office is pretty well confined to presidi
the administration of the interior.

France, as we know, is divided into
ments, which are subdivided into arr
ments, which are re-divided into cant
communes.

* The office of minister of foreign affairs
no details necessary to elucidate this subject.
minister of public works is now also engross
minister of the interior; but I have not thou
cessary to enter into details of this departmen
pretty well explained by its title, and answ
minister of the woods and forests, with this
that the public roads are under his managemer
all buildings erected, even by the communes,
purposes, must have their plans submitted to
tion.

ere are for each department:
A prefect, a council of prefecture, and a
il general of department.
re is for each arrondissement, except in
n which the prefect resides,
sub-prefect, and under the immediate
s of the prefect.
council of arrondissement.
each commune there is a mayor, or chief
strate.
ne or more adjuncts or deputies.
municipal council.

roceed to detail the various functions of
authorities, commencing with the de-
nent.
e Prefect in France, named by the
, is at the head of the administration of
department, and in centralising the go-
nent of the province, he is one of the
in the central government of the coun-

s duty is to see that the laws are obeyed.
as the power to suspend from their func-
the mayors of the communes and their
itutes, and himself dismissable at plea-

sure, is controlled by the minister o
terior only*.

The council of the prefecture, name
the King, is the prefect's council, wi
he advises, and over whom he presides

This body decides all disputes or di
between the undertakers of public wo
the administration, as well as all dama
to private citizens from the erection o
&c. It has also the management of all
property in the department.

By the side of this assembly there is
—more popular, viz. the council ge
composed of the same number of me
there are cantons in the department, w
exception, however, that it must not
more than thirty members.

A member of the general council is
in each canton by an electoral assem
posed of electors and citizens who ar
jury list. If their number is under f
complement is formed by calling to v

* His salary sometimes amounts to 80,0
His office, therefore, is one of the most eage
after, and bestowed only on persons in whom t
ment can implicitly confide.

itizens as pay the greatest proportion of

e eligible to the council general of the nent, the party must be in the enjoy- of all civil and political rights. He e twenty-five years of age, and have or a year and upwards, 200 francs, (£8.) ect taxes.

King can dissolve a council general; in case a new election must take place three months from the date of the disso-

council meets once a year; its sittings public, and cannot exceed *fifteen days* ation.

duty of this assembly is, as I have said, ide the direct contributions of the depart- among the arrondissements, and to deter- the demands for reduction made by the nt councils of the arrondissements, cities,

the departments, which have more than thirty , the extra number is joined to others who elect presentative.

c functionaries, salaried by the government, can- nominated members of the general council.

nembers are nominated for nine years, and are re- y one-third every three years.

nembers are re-eligible.

burghs, and villages under its control
as I have shewn, regulates, within the
lowed by law, the number of additiona
of which the imposition is required f
mental expenses; receives from the
account of these sums, and expresses i
of the state and the wants of the depa
an address to the minister of the inte

The duties of the sub-prefect
those of the prefect, but are confin
own arrondissement.

The sub-prefect receives his orders
prefect, and is accountable to him
performance.

In each arrondissement, over w
sub-prefect presides, there is a cou
posed of as many members as there
tons in the arrondissement.

The councillors are elected in thes
by an electoral assembly, compos
same manner as that which elects th
general of departments.

The qualification requires the p
elected to be aged twenty-five year
wards, to be in the enjoyment of all
political rights, and to have been
the department, during a year at
francs (£6.) of direct contributions,

hich must have been payable in the
lissement, wherein their domicile has
*

s council assembles once a year, at periods
by the King. The session cannot be
than fifteen days; being ten days before
ve days after the meeting of the council-
al.

e direct taxes are distributed by the
lissement among the villages and burghs
jurisdiction, as in the council-general;
irect taxes of the department are appor-
l amongst the arrondissements.†

e council of the arrondissement also
s to all demands for diminution in their
ien, made by these villages and burghs.
listens to the annual account of the sub-
ct as to the employment of the centimes
ionnels for the local expenses of the de-
nent, and expresses an opinion on the
s and wishes of the arrondissement.

the commune there are—a mayor and two
ncts—chosen from the municipal council,

e same disqualifications which apply to members of
uncil-general apply also to councillors of the arron-
ient.
ee Finance.

and named by the King in the chef-li arrondissement, and in all commune the population exceeds 3000 inhabitan

In the other communes these offi named by the prefect.

The appointment is for three years, persons nominated must be twenty-fiv old, and have their domicile in the com

Every commune has a municipal (the mayor and his adjuncts, are compri

This council consists of ten members the commune has no more than 500 inha

Of twelve, where the commune from 500 to 1,500 inhabitants.

Of sixteen, where the commune from 1,500 to 2,500 inhabitants.

Of twenty-one, where the commun tains from 2,500 to 3,500 inhabitants.

* PERSONS DISQUALIFIED TO SERVE.

The members of the courts and tribunals of th stance, and justices of the peace.

The ministers of any religion.

The officers of the navy or army in service.

The engineers on service.

The financial agents of the administration.

The commissaries and agents of police.

The mayor sees that public order is maintai the laws executed.

wenty-three, where the commune con-
om 3,500 to 10,000 inhabitants.
wenty-seven, where the commune con-
om 10,000 to 30,000 inhabitants.
hirty-six, where the commune contains
inhabitants, and upwards.
council municipal is chosen by the
rs of the commune.
electors of communes are the most
ed among its inhabitants in the following
rtions.
communes of 1100 souls and under,
nth of the population. This number
ncrease by five for every one hundred
tants above 1000 up to 5000.
four for every one hundred above 5000,
15,000.
three for every one hundred above
).
ides the persons voting on account of
axation, the members of courts of law,
s of peace, members of any chamber
mmerce, or council of Prud'hommes;
commission of colleges, or charitable
shments; all officers in the national
all members and correspondents of
stitut, all doctors of law, science or
ne; all advocates or notaries, all an-

cient functionaries of state, all office
army or navy receiving pensions; al
of the polytechnic school declared, or
admissable to the public service, and
resided a year in the commune; al
voting for the elective deputies of
general of the departments, whatever
contributions in the commune—all
as communal electors.*

The council of the commune is e
six years (the members being re-elig
it is renewed by one half every three

The King, however, can dissolve
time, and a re-election must then
within three months.

It sits four times a year, and ea
may last for ten days.

The business of this body is to i
the wants, and provide for the expen
commune; and in this, its jurisdicti
scribed by the obligation of a defin
tion, either from the sub-prefect or t
who depend upon the central gover
from the minister of the interior him

* The council municipal must be chosen
of the electors of the commune, and three-
at least be domiciled within it.

† See Finance.

we see a perpetual series of links—
or in the commune, the sub-prefect in
ndissement, the prefect and his council
epartment, all connecting the adminis-
of the village with that of the empire;
ly, in the very circumstance where men
supposed most free, viz. the expen-
of their own money, they are subject to
rol, which is sometimes advantageous
enting their extravagances and mistakes,
rch can never form their judgment.*

minister of the interior is at the head of the
e of the country, i. e. the national guard; but
entioned subsequently.

MILITARY ADMINISTRA

CHAPTER X.

The Army—The Legion of Honour—The Guard.

MINISTER OF WAR, ETC.

I NOW come to that part of the vice where centralization is most v its construction most perfect:—I Army.

The minister of war in Fran within his jurisdiction, the directi branch of the military service. Th the recruitment, the discipline, ments, the movement, the victua troops, all come under his inspecti the rays as it were that centre in hi

In his office there is to every ki and species of administration, superintendence;—under the follo

1. Direction du cabinet du mini

rection des archives or du dépôt de la

rection de l'infanterie.
irection de la cavalerie.
irection de l'artillerie.
irection du génie.
irection de la justice militaire.
irection des mouvemens de troupes et
nsports et convois.
irection de l'intendance militaire.
Direction de la comptabilité.*
these boards thus concentrated in the
y of war, correspond with two great
estrations, viz. Des divisions militaires;
tendances militaires†—administrations
inated throughout the kingdom—which
s purpose is divided into sixteen juris-

Direction of the cabinet of the minister.
Direction of the archives or of the depot of

Direction of the infantry.
Direction of the cavalry.
Direction of the artillery.
Direction of the engineers.
Direction of military justice.
Direction of the movement of troops, transports,
s, &c.
Direction of the military intendance.
Direction of accounts.
ilitary divisions and military intendances.

dictions, each of which has two su
tions, formed ordinarily of a departm

"The military divisions," as they
have altogether a military characte
head of each is a lieutenant-general
under him at the head of each su
a maréchal-de-camp. The lieutena
has the control and inspection of all
within the sphere allotted to him.
cruiting, their exercise and instruct
police and distribution into garriso
tachments; cavalry, infantry, artill
neers, (gendarmerie, even, though th
set in motion by a separate auth
all and equally under him, and h
from time to time to the ministry o
numbers, and discipline; everything
relating to the force of the troo
his command.

These reports are made under the
heads, and go accordingly to the diffe
tions allotted to them in the war offic

The chiefs of these directions m
port thereupon to the minister of
he sometimes decides himself,
takes the advice of the King,
them.

The military intendances are the
nistration of the army; and are di

nts and sub-intendants stationed through
ntry, in the same manner as the generals
:échaux-de-camps. Thus the intendant
resides in the same town as the lieute-
neral, and the sub-intendant in the
own as the maréchal-de-camp.

e are as many intendants therefore as
ns, and as many sub-intendants as sub-
ns.

intendant, in the same manner as the
ant-general, communicates with all the
tationed in his district and with the minis-
war respecting them; but his functions
olly in the details respecting the pay and
issariat of the army, the purchasing
counting for all victuals, etc. etc.

communications on these subjects pass
h the bureaux de comptabilité, (boards of
nts) the financial board of the war office;—
e there submitted to the minister of war
f, who usually confers upon them with the

Thus, every thing relating to the army,
at the minister of war by two channels;
e relating to the military and the other
economical part of the service.

separate reports he thus receives, he
ompare together, and in this manner
easily acquaint himself not only with the
ncy of the parties reporting; but also

with the actual state of the army in th
referred to. The report of the general
the numbers of the troops in his divis
report of the intendant, the pay, p
and expense; one account checks th

But in order to have some still furth
upon these officers themselves, there are
ed inspectors-general; officers of the
lieutenant-general or maréchal-de-camp
sent every year into the different divis

The inspector-general examines in
part, military and economic of the
enters into the minutest details, passi
or eight days with each regiment.
receives every man from the colone
private soldier; listens to all compla
demands, and reports in the fullest
on what has passed to the minister
who thereby sees the accuracy of t
ments already made to him.

The army of France forms so inte
part of the power and policy of that
that perhaps it will not be uninteresti
into further details respecting it.

COMPOSITION OF ARMY.

The French army is composed of
cavalry, artillery, and engineers.

The infantry is divided into infant

nd light infantry. The infantry of the nsists of sixty-six regiments, each of housand six hundred and twenty men, battalions of eight hundred and sixty-en each. A battalion has eight com- of one hundred and eight men, to each ch are attached a captain, a lieutenant, ub-lieutenant. There is attached, be- to each of these regiments a company —'hors-rang' (out of the ranks)—com- of the servants of the small staff, the ans, the master workmen, etc.

e light infantry is composed of twenty- giments, each of three battalions only.* e cavalry is divided into the '*cavalerie de e*,' '*cavalerie de ligne*,' et *cavalerie lé-*

cavalry of the reserve comprises two ents of *carabineers*, and ten of *cuirassiers*: regiment being nine hundred and sixty and seven hundred and sixty-nine horses.

the epaulettes of the officers there is also a difference; those of the line are gold, those of t infantry silver. This forms the sole difference n the light infantry and the infantry of the line, e exception that the light infantry uniform has that of the line red, facings.

valry of reserve, cavalry of line, and light cavalry.

strong. The regiment is divided
squadrons, each squadron being comm
a captain commandant, a second cap
lieutenants, and two sub-lieutenants.
d'escadron' has two squadrons under
mand.

The *cavalry of the line* consists
regiments of dragoons, and six regi
lancers. The only difference betwe
regiments and the others, is the circ
that they are stronger in numbers; th
tive being one thousand and fifty-six
eight hundred and sixty-five horses.

The *light cavalry* consists of tw
ments of 'chasseurs' and six of hussa
regiments have the same divisions
as the lancers.

The artillery has eleven regiment
squadrons each. Each squadron has
teries; the numerical force of these
is of two thousand men, and one
horses.

The *engineers* have three regimen
strength is the same as that of the
fantry. A train company is attache
of these regiments; there is also a
of '*pontonniers*' whose duty it is to
bridges, etc. during war; six train
of park artillery; and a train corps

quipages ; but as these bodies are only in time of war, it is impossible now to heir effective force which varies with pectation of their being wanted.

e are, besides what I have mentioned, ber of corps that also form part of the but which are stationary and not destined tive service. The '*gendarmerie* which the *police municipale*, (municipal police) read in the sixteen great divisions I have oned over the whole surface of France. ompanies of veterans do duty in forts. ompany of '*garde côtes*' (coast guards) ationed at sea-ports. The municipal guard ris abides there under the orders of the t of police. The company of *douaniers*, om-house officers) are in the service of ustom house. Other small bodies might e mentioned of a similar character.

RECRUITING.

h being the composition of the army, it ruited in two manners ; by conscription s) or by voluntary enlistment. The calls ade once a hambers pass, and which is approved the King. This law calls under the r from sixty, to eighty thousand men

per annum, according to circumstances, and the government distributes between the departments the proper contingent of each to the general levy. At the commencement of the year, the different mayors meet at the *chef-lieu* (chief town) of their *arrondissement* bringing with them all the young men belonging to the several communes, who have completed their twentieth year; the sub-prefect, who administers in the arrondissement, having already prepared a list for that arrondissement containing the names of the young men liable to the conscription. After the effective of the contingent is determined, and the number which each canton is to supply ascertained, the young men inscribed on the list proceed to draw lots, and the first names that come forth are those to be enrolled. A short time after this, however, a council of revision is held, at which claims for exemption and other objections against the service are heard. A final list is then made out, and the individuals, whose names are found in it, are subsequently and definitively called to the ranks of the army in virtue of a royal ordonnance.

The military authorities then direct the young soldiers by detachments, more or less considerable, to the corps of which they are

to compose a part. Arrived at their destination they are incorporated in the companies or squadrons, so as to be properly mixed with the ancient soldiers. Their uniform is given to them, and, on the first review of the regiment, they are brought forward to take an oath of fidelity to the King, to the country, and to the tricolored flag. The form of the oath is, "Je jure d'être fidèle au roi, à l'honneur et à la patrie, et de ne jamais abandonner les drapeaux !*" The transformation of the peasant, the artisan, the labourer, or the 'bourgeois' is now complete !†

The legal duration of service in the army is seven years.‡ At the expiration of that period the soldier receives his discharge, and generally returns to his native district, and former employment. Some, however, re-engage in the army for two, or four years, but

* I swear to be faithful to the king, to the honour of the country, and never to quit my standard.

† None are admitted to the army who have been condemned for any disgraceful offence.

‡ About one sixth, it is calculated, re-enlist for two or four years. These receive a bounty of 22 francs, for two years, and 44 francs for four years; besides, 8 centimes per day additional, after two years' service, and 10 centimes after six. I speak of infantry of the line. The other corps receive something more.

these are generally of a class who would find it difficult to gain their livelihood in another manner.

The conditions of voluntary enlistment differ in no way from the conditions imposed on the soldier by conscription. Like him, the volunteer cannot retire from the service during the period of his engagement, till he has found a proper substitute. During the times of peace the number of volunteers is small. But, in war, or at a whisper of war, the military spirit of France revives. Immediately after the revolution of July, sixty thousand rushed to the national standard.* In 1832, there were eleven thousand nine hundred and eight volunteers, of whom, one thousand three hundred and fifty-five were from the department of the Seine.

In 1833, there were but five thousand five hundred, and ninety-one—of whom, eight hundred and thirty-nine came from the department of the capital.

The persons so engaging, in time of peace, are naturally men for the most part without employment, persons whose enterprizing

* Most of these, on the chance of war disappearing, purchased substitutes.

and adventurous character has already embarked them in scrapes; but sometimes young men of respectability, wishing to enter the military career without undergoing the discipline of the military schools, engage in this humble manner.

The sons of the greatest and richest families of France, of dukes and peers, have not disdained to arrive at the rank of an officer, by passing through the duties of a common soldier. And this not in appearance merely, but in reality. Many are the instances that could be cited of these young gentlemen doing their duty in every respect as a private of the ranks; supporting the severest fatigues and privations; currying their horses, cleaning their stables, and carrying the forage on their shoulders; nor is it extraordinary to meet in a soldier's room, the descendant of a noble family and the bearer of a great name, sharing his bed with the son of one of his domestics. These examples were frequent under the restoration—more so immediately after its overthrow:—not so frequent at the present time.

THE PAY.

The pay of the army is much the same now, that it was prior to the revolution of

1789. The necessity for a great army, and the difficulty of supporting a great expense, made this almost a matter of course; and under these circumstances it has even required an effort to keep up the ancient scale.

The pay then of the officer and the soldier, the former perhaps has the least to complain of, is in France as elsewhere, but a miserable pittance for the services he has to perform, and the station he ought to maintain.

At the present moment the grade of a 'sous-lieutenant' of the line — a rank equivalent to our ensign or cornet, is 1500 francs per annum, in the foot regiments, and 1725 francs in the cavalry. This is about the salary of a secondary merchant's junior clerk.*

The pay of all the other superior officers is in the same proportion, as that of the sub-lieutenant. A colonel has 6,250 francs per annum in the infantry, and 6,875 in the cavalry. A lieutenant-colonel 5,275 in the infantry, and 5,875 in the cavalry. A chef-de-bataillon or d'escadron 4,500 in the infantry, 5,000 in the cavalry.

INFANTRY.

Captains.	1st class, 3,600 francs. 2nd class, 3,000 ditto.

See Manual Législation Militaire.

Lieutenants.	1st class,	1,875 francs.
	2nd class,	1,650 ditto.

CAVALRY.

Captains.	1st class,	3,750 francs.
	2nd class,	3,450 ditto.
Lieutenants.	1st class,	2,175 francs.
	2nd class,	1,875 ditto.

A marshal of France has 40,000 francs; a lieutenant-general, if commanding, 40,000 frs.; if not, 15,000 in peace, and 18,750 in war; a maréchal-de-camp has 10,000 frs. in peace, and 12,500 in war.

It is to be remembered that commissions are not purchased, and that, therefore, the pay, such as it is, which the officer receives, is wholly reward for his services, and not interest for his money. As to the soldier, his cost to the state cannot perhaps be exactly calculated because his arms, accoutrements, his barrack-room, the principal part of his clothing, are furnished by the public magazines and manufactories; but his daily allowance will give an adequate idea, in other respects, of his situation.* It amounts, on an average to, 48 centimes, about 4½d a day. From this pittance 10 centimes, one penny, are withheld as a provision for the linen and stockings he may

* Nouveau guide des sous-officers.—(New guide for non-commissioned officers,)

require, and for the small articles necessary to his dress and cleanliness; 30 centimes three halfpence, are kept for his food, and he is supplied with one pound and a half of tolerable bread in addition; 8 centimes, about three farthings, are given to him for pocket money. Such is the state of the French soldier.*

It will be easily believed, that with resources apparently so inadequate, it would be impossible for him to exist but under a system of the most rigid economy. For this purpose, a subaltern officer is charged in each company with the control of the sum appropriated for food, and is in fact the superintendant of the mess, for it is by *messing* the food that a sum so minute is rendered sufficient for the purpose. This officer purchases himself at market the articles necessary; some soldiers are metamorphosed into cooks, and the dinner is divided into small tin dishes, and distributed fairly to each soldier of the company. The soldier has two meals a day, one at ten o clock, and the other at five. The first is composed of

* The two flanc companies receive a halfpenny (5 cent) a day more; and, as we have seen, those re-engaging after 8 years service, 8 cents. more.

soup, and a quarter of a pound of boiled beef; the second of a small portion of vegetables, generally of potatoes or beans, with a quarter of a pound of mutton or veal. The only drink given is water; wine, brandy, or other spirits are only distributed, and then, in very small proportions, on the occasion of public rejoicings, or on a visit of the General.*

PENSIONS.

As some atonement for the exiguity of his pay, the soldier has the prospective of a pension.

* When the soldier is in the colonies a slight difference in the arrangements takes place. He has 1 lb. 9¾ oz. of bread, with 8½ oz. of salt or fresh beef, or 7 oz. of pork daily. When on the war establishment, 1 oz. of rice, or 2 oz. of peas, and half an ounce of salt. Instead of paying 30 cents. for his messing, he pays only 20 in the colonies, and 14 on the war establishment.

Soldiers of good conduct are sometimes allowed to absent themselves from regimental duties, and work on their own account in the towns where they are quartered. They pay, in this case five centimes per day to the mess, and six francs a month to the soldier who does their duty, and cleans their arms. They must also pay for their linen, etc. unless their stock be complete.

In time of peace this is earned by thirty years, in time of war, by fifteen years' service.*

Besides this, the orphans and widows of those who have perished in battle,† receive a portion (about one-fourth) of the pension that their husbands, or fathers would have been entitled to for retirement, whatever may have been the period of their service, in the rank they held. The widows and children of pensioners are also paid according to the same regulation; and the pension to a soldier's wife cannot be less than 100 frs.

The pensions of course vary according to rank, and the following table will exhibit their rates and proportions.

* Two years in the colonies are counted as three years.

† There is also for the officers what is called "Traitement de réforme," (half-pay allowance,) in which he is in a middle state, between being in the army and out of it. Those who have served 20 years may receive this pay for ten, without being called upon to re-enter the service; those who have six years, for three, etc., etc. The allowance for a colonel is 1,200 frs.; for a sub-lieutenant, 320 frs.

STATEMENT OF HALF-PAY ALLOWANCES, SHEWING THE RATE ACCORDING TO RANK AND CORPS.

		Maximum.	Minimum.
		Francs.	Francs.
General Staff	Lieutenant-general	6,000	5,000
	Maréchal-de-camp	4,000	3,500
Royal Staff Corps	Colonel	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel	2,400	2,000
	Chief of battalion	2,200	1,800
	Captain	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant	1,000	800
Military intendance	Military intendant	4,000	3,500
	Sub-intendant	3,000	2,500
Commandants of Towns.	Colonel	3,000	2,500
	Chief of battalion	2,000	1,800
Town Adjutants	Captain	1,500	1,200
	Lieutenant	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant	1,000	800
Board of Health	Head surgeon	2,000	1,600
	Assistant surgeon	1,000	800
Gendarmerie	Colonel	3,000	2,500
	Chief of squadron	2,200	1,800
	Captain	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant	1,200	1,000
	Quarter-master	450	400
	Brigadier	360	310
	Gendarmie	320	220
Infantry of the Line	Colonel	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel	2,400	2,000
	Chief of battalion	2,000	1,800
	Captain	1,600	1,200
Light Infantry	Lieutenant	1,200	1,000
	Sub-lieutenant	1,000	800
Veteran Non-commissioned officers	Adjutant non-commissioned officer	600	500
	Serjeant-major	500	400
Veteran Fusileers	Serjeant	400	300
	Corporals	350	250
Artillery	Soldiers	300	200
Cavalry	Colonel	3,000	2,500
	Lieutenant-colonel	2,400	2,000
	Chief of squadron	2,000	1,800
Artillery	Major	2,000	1,800
	Captain	1,600	1,200
	Lieutenant	1,200	1,000
Artillery Train	Sub-lieutenant	1,000	800
	Adjutant	600	500
	Head quarter-master	500	400
	Quarter-master	400	300
	Brigadier	350	250
	Soldiers	300	200

DISCIPLINE.

We now come to the discipline of the French army.

ADMINISTRATION OF A REGIMENT.

The administration of each regiment is confided to a council, composed of the colonel, a *chef d'escadron* or *de bataillon*, a major, a captain, and the officer '*d'habillement*.'* All these officers are convoked by the colonel, and deliberate, in common, on such matters as are connected with the administration of the regiment, excepting of course those which belong to the sovereign authority of the colonel, to whom the times of exercise, the rewards, punishments, and the general power over the troops is reserved. An account, however, is rendered by him once a week to the *maréchal de camp* of all matters regarding his regiment. He corresponds also with the minister of war, who, in very extraordinary circumstances, communicates his instructions directly through him. Without orders, however, he can do nothing or importance, forming merely a link in the system, which passing through the general and the intendant, centres at last in the war department.

* Who attends to the dress, &c.

PUNISHMENTS.

In every country, but in France particularly, military legislation must be severe. The principles of equality which have circulated among all classes, oppose and weaken the principles of military obedience. The military code, therefore, is necessarily more terrible in its provisions and punishments than the civil code. Twenty-two cases are made punishable with death. Revolt—insubordination,—a blow from an inferior to a superior are certain to be followed by that punishment. Theft, which, by the ordinary law, is punished by imprisonment, and sometimes by solitary confinement, according to the military law, subjects the offender to the galleys. Every enactment is in the same proportion:—in 1832, out of an army composed of 388,402 men, 6,858 were brought up for justice (proportion to the total, 1 in 70).

Of this 6,858—

14 were sent before the ordinary tribunals, from the incompetence of the Council of War.

2,217 were acquitted.

4,627 were condemned: 93 to death—391 to hard labour—130 to seclusion—308

to the *'boulet'**—1,149 to labour on the public works—2,556 to imprisonment.

It is to be observed that 1,555 were tried in the same month as their offence—2,267 in two months after their offence and 3,111 subsequently to that period.

24,064 witnesses were heard, and the expenses of the proceedings were 156,217 francs.

The sentences pronounced were not all executed.

Of the 4,627 condemned, 496 obtained an entire pardon; 656 a commutation of sentence; and 13 capital sentences were alone put into execution.

From the report of the minister of war we learn a very curious fact, viz. that of the 6,858 persons tried — 2,806 were volunteers, and 2,359 substitutes for those who had enrolled; and but 1,693 persons entering by conscription, though the great bulk of the army is composed of these. It also appears that in the persons tried and condemned, there were out of 17 soldiers:

7 volunteers
6 substitutes
4 conscripts

* To drag the shot.

This sufficiently shews the great superiority of the conscripts over the other two classes of soldiers.

There was but one of the scholars from the military schools tried, and he was acquitted; and from the gendarmerie, a force of 15,514 men, but 15 were brought to trial. Two facts important to France—as well in respect to the discipline of her troops as the security of her citizens.

The officers of rank brought to trial, offering a total of 16,642—15. Of the sub-officers, of a total of 20,524—176.

Of the corporals, &c. 26,012—216.

The annexed tables give these and other particulars.

MODE OF PROCEDURE.

In every division, there are established, two permanent councils of war, and one council of revision—which is to the military courts what the "cour de cassation," (court of cassation) is to the civil.

The permanent councils are formed from every rank, and contain a colonel who presides, a chef-de-bataillon, two captains, one lieutenant, one sub-lieutenant, and one non-commissioned officer.

The council of revision consists of five

members: one general officer who presides, one colonel, one chef-de-bataillon or d'escadron, two captains.*

The mode of proceeding is as follows: directly a person, subject to military law, is accused of an offence, his commanding officer arrests him, and institutes an enquiry into his conduct. Then, if against the person accused, there appears a fair probability of guilt, he, (the commanding officer) convokes the permanent council in his division—and before this council the offender is brought.

The tribunal hears the accusation, the witnesses on both sides, the defence, and then pronounces sentence. If three out of seven members declare the accused innocent, he is at once discharged—if five pronounce him guilty, the commissary of the King demands the application of the law against him.

The president reads the law, and again, if five determine on the same punishment, that

* For generals-in-chief or of division, for colonels, majors, and chef-de-bataillon or d'escadron, as well as for permanent military intendants, and sub-intendants, the councils of war are rather differently composed. In besieged towns, in departments in a state of trouble or civil war, councils are formed on the same principle of the best materials that can be found.

one is adopted, if not, the opinion in favour of the mildest sentence is the one acted upon.

The criminal is then told the result of his trial, and twenty-four hours allowed him for demanding his case to be brought before a council of revision.

The council of revision can annul the sentence.

1. When the permanent council of war has not been formed on a legal manner.

2. When it shall have passed beyond its competence, either in respect to the criminal, or the laws.

3. When it shall have declared itself incompetent in the case.

4. When the trial has not been conducted properly.

5. When the punishment adjudged is not a legal one.

Within twenty-four hours after the decision of the permanent court, if the case be not adjourned to the court of revision—and immediately after the judgment of the court of revision, if it be—the criminal, if sentenced to be put in irons, or to be sent to the galleys, or to proceed to a '*compagnie de discipline*,'*

* There are about 2000 men in what are called the companies of discipline — to which soldiers maiming

or to a military penitentiary,* is escorted by the gendarmes to his destination. Should he be condemned to death, he is taken back to his regiment, and there, unless a pardon or reprieve be anticipated, shot forthwith.†

themselves to prevent serving, or of a refractory disposition, are sent. In these companies, which are always in fortified towns, besides the ordinary military duties, the soldiers are employed in works of fortification, where the latter is in general very severe.

* The military penitentiaries are recent and experimental institutions, to which soldiers, whom there may be the hope of reclaiming, are sent to instead of to the galleys. Here the prisoners are employed in different useful trades, receive the elements of instruction, and have a careful attention paid to their comparative conduct.

† There are, besides the great military tribunals that I have described, two for the officers, and one for the soldiers of a secondary description.

Those for the officers are called '*conseils d'enquête*,' (councils of inquiry); and those for the soldiers '*conseils de discipline*,' (councils of discipline.)

The '*conseils d'enquête*' are divided into '*conseils de divisions*,' (councils of division,) and '*conseils de régiment*,' (regimental councils.)

The first concerns all officers in a division as high as the rank of colonel, the second the inferior officers of a regiment.

These councils take cognizance of such offences as become sufficiently serious to disturb the good order of

I believe great severity is required in the French military code; it has, however, been considered unnecessarily great, and whatever might be required in time of war, it appears possible to many military men in France, to do without the punishment of death in time of peace, except in cases of murder, or perhaps treason. Acts of mere insubordination are rarely the result of calculation or deliberation before hand. They result in most cases from some momentary effervescence; and then the punishment of death, or any other penalty, is never thought of or cared for by the excited soldier.*

If some offences, however, are punished so severely in the French army, others receive a mild and honorable chastisement, directed es-

the army, though they do not subject the offender to the military code. And they can punish by suspension of rank or employment.

The '*conseil de discipline*' (councils of discipline), is for offences of the same description, and may send a soldier to the '*compagnie de discipline,*' (discipline company.)

* It may be here worth observing that in the same year which I have been speaking of in France—as giving the result upon 388,000 men, of 6,858 committals on serious offences, there were within our force in Ireland and Great Britain, (about 50,000 men,) 920 soldiers in gaol, while 370 corporal punishments took place in the same year.

pecially at the mind of the soldier and that sentiment which is the basis of his service.

These smaller punishments are the *corvée*, (excessive labour) a *consigne au quartier*—(confinement to his quarter)—*la salle de police*, (imprisonment,) the *cachot*, (dungeon) and interdiction to carry his sabre out of the ranks. The small faults or negligences are all punished by the *corvée*, or by confinement to quarters. The *corvée* is work imposed on the soldier, who is obliged when not on duty, to devote himself to it, and is generally both of a tiresome and fatiguing description. He is made to bring the soup into town for his comrades on guard; to carry forage, and do any other menial offices required. The punishment of confinement to his quarters in addition to his being interdicted from leaving his barracks, subjects him also to those portions of the punishment I have just described, which can be performed in quarters. He is besides placed in a corps which is designated the '*peloton de punition*,' which '*peloton*' is commanded by a *non*-commissioned officer equally confined; and here the sergeant and soldier, if they do not pay the same attention to their duty, as in ordinary exercise, are subjected to a continuation of their punishment. Sometimes the nature of the offence will be printed in large letters, and the soldier made to

appear with it on his jacket turned inside out; a punishment sufficiently humiliating to him, especially when the exercise which he is obliged to go through, is performed in some public place out of the barracks.

"*La salle de police*" includes the above punishments; but the culprit, in addition, is deprived of his room and bed, and obliged to sleep on bare plank— his duty and exercise continuing as before. The *prison* only differs from the *salle de police*, in this, that the offender is immediately locked up when he has performed either his military service, or the degrading duties of the other punishments. "*Le cachot*" is close imprisonment. The prohibition to carry his side arms when off duty, another punishment which I have mentioned, attacks the '*amour-propre*' of the French soldier, and is invariably found to be equally severe and effective. In order, indeed, to give it the appearance of great degradation, the colonel has only the power of interdicting the soldier from carrying his side arms for the space of sixty days; it requires the general of the division to prolong that term.

Every superior has the right to punish his inferior for any fault he may be guilty of. But

the law provides and specifies the amount of the punishment, which *cannot be exceeded.* From the corporal, who can inflict four days' confinement to the barracks, or two days to the '*salle de police*,' up to the colonel, who can sentence to a month's confinement to the barracks, and fifteen days to the '*cachot*;' the different powers of the various ranks of officers, in everything concerning these punishments are explained and determined by military regulations; at the same time the *colonel* has, of course, the power to augment or diminish the punishment, or to pardon the offence if he thinks proper. He is entitled also to punish the superior officer who has exceeded or abused his authority in inflicting an extravagant or unmerited punishment on his inferior.

The faults of the most frequent occurrence are generally the lightest, and are punished as soon as committed. But even when any of these trifling delinquencies are frequently repeated by the same individual, and when any species of incorrigibility is exhibited, the punishment very properly becomes more severe. A non-commissioned officer, or corporal, or soldier of the first class, is degraded. This punishment which affects the future prospects of the offender is, however, considered an exceedingly

severe one, and but rarely inflicted, except when all other means of correction have been tried and failed. The degradation is inflicted in the French army in presence of the regiment on parade.

PUNISHMENT OF OFFICERS.

The severer punishments of the officers are regulated, of course, by the ordinary provisions of the military code: the minor punishments to which they are subjected, are, simple arrests, reprimand, close arrests, imprisonment. The *simple arrests* oblige the officer to confine himself to his chamber, without authority to leave it, but when called to perform his military duty, from which it would appear he is not even provisionally suspended. The *reprimand*, which must proceed from the colonel, or officer in command of the regiment, is given to the officer in presence of one or more of his brother officers. *Close arrest* does not permit the officer to leave his room under any pretext, nor receive any person there, but under express authorization of his commanding officer. A sentinel is generally placed at his door, and an inferior officer is sent to demand and take away his sword. Confinement in *prison*, is

only resorted to in very serious cases. The colonel can sentence an officer to fifteen days; —the lieutenant-general or the minister at war can only exceed that period.

One peculiarity which I may notice is that, it is the duty of the officer punished, when that punishment has been undergone, to make a formal visit to the colonel or commandant by whose orders it was inflicted. He must be accompanied by an officer of his own rank, and by another of a superior grade, and the visit must be gone through with all the established forms of politeness. It will not do to leave a card at the colonel's door; the colonel takes care to inform the punished officer f the day and the hour on which he will have the honour of receiving him.

The military ordonnance, which prescribes these details, has had in view the wish to re-establish, by the visit, the good understanding which it supposes the punishment of the officer may have broken; this may be a reasonable supposition, perhaps, where the fault and the punishment have been both trifling, or where the officer is conscious of his error and is glad of the opportunity to redeem it. But it too often happens that this formal visit renders more inveterate the private feelings

of hatred that may have existed before. When an officer conceives that he has been unjustly treated, or punished with unnecessary severity, such a visit, it may easily be imagined, can only be regarded by him as an addition to that treatment he complains of; and he can scarcely be expected to use such language, or to conduct himself so guardedly, as to fulfil the praiseworthy object for which the visit was ordered. It happens, therefore, but too frequently, that in place of friendship being renewed, and peace restored among the parties, a new and more implacable enmity commences, finally terminated by the death of one or other of the parties.*

HABITS, ETC.

Exercise of the person, racing, dancing, horsemanship, and all the exercises which are calculated to strengthen the constitution, and to develope address and agility, and daring on horseback, are encouraged among the troops. Gymnasiums have been established for this purpose in the principal garrisons, where a master in each of these different sorts of exercise

* In some cases, indeed, where this visit is considered too painful for the feelings of the officer forced to make it, it is dispensed with.

directs the young soldiers. In fine weather they are occupied daily in learning to swim, and in the exercise of swimming, as well as in swimming their horses across a river or a pond of sufficient depth. It is especially in the art of fencing that the soldiers are taught to excel. To be a good fencer is considered a great honor in the French army. Care is taken to give great solemnity to the competitions among the good swordsmen, so as to preserve the taste for this sort of exercise. It is easy to suppose that the practice of this art renders quarrels of very frequent occurrence—nothing, in fact, is more common than duelling among the soldiers. It might be in vain to oppose this propensity, but the chiefs of the corps seem rather to encourage it than otherwise, for, although they punish the offender with fifteen days' imprisonment, if he accept a challenge, they are the first to testify their contempt, and endeavour by all means in their power to expel him the army, if he decline one.

The life of the soldier in some measure resembles that of a monk. He passes as much time in the barrack as the monk does in the monastery. He has no connexion with the interior of a city. Scarcely has he time to make a slight acquaintance in the place where he is in garrison,

before he receives orders to march to another quarter, where he is an utter stranger. The change of garrisons takes place very frequently, and it would seem as if the government adopted the plan for the purpose of isolating more and more the soldier, and preventing his forming too close a relationship with the people. The very ties which bind him to his family are attempted to be broken, for he is only permitted under the most pressing circumstances to visit his relations; and to marry is altogether prohibited him. The officer, it is true, may marry, but *only* on the authorisation of the minister of war, who never consents but in cases where the *pecuniary interests* of the officer are to be *benefited*. The colonel of a regiment has also the power of granting permission to the non-commissioned officers, and even to the soldiers under him to marry; but it is only under very peculiar circumstances that this favour is allowed; it occurs, therefore, but very rarely; and, in fact, is almost entirely confined to the soldiers who wish to marry some woman who may be useful to the regiment as *cantonnière* or washer woman.*

* These regulations, it is to be observed, are not so severe as they may, with our own military habits, at first appear,

But while every endeavour is made to break the links which connect the soldier with the mass of the people, every incitement and encouragement to maintain "*l'esprit du corps*" is given. The men of the same company, or troop, live together; they are expected to support and defend each other mutually, and the chief subaltern of the party is instructed to keep up this sentiment of fraternity, by punishment, as well as by recompense. If one man conduct himself badly, it often happens that all his party come in for a share of his punishment, as if the whole company were considered responsible for the conduct of any one of its members. If, on the contrary, the man acquire merited praise, either from some act of public service or private conduct, the company again comes in for a share of the eulogy to the individual, and is recompensed in a body, by some small favours, as an exemption from roll-call and the like.

What I have said of the company applies equally to the battalion, to the regiment, and to the brigade. It not unfrequently happens, when there is an unusual assemblage of troops,

because the soldier passes merely through the army in transition, and can in a short time return to the affections and habits of a civilian.

that some quarrel may spring up between two regiments, and it is then observed that other regiments take part on one side or the other, as they seem to be connected with the immediate parties, in respect to their similarity of military discipline. I remember seeing a singular quarrel of this description, which almost ended in a general battle between the infantry and cavalry at Versailles.

PROMOTION.

We are now come to the distinguishing feature of the French army, the principle of which, in fact, regulates and remedies the various parts of the system we have been considering.

The small pay, the severe discipline of the French soldier must have struck us on the one side, the constant appeals to his honor, and his love for his profession must also have struck us on the other. What makes this severe discipline and small pay supportable? From what cause does the military pride which characterizes him proceed?

It is his method of promotion. The man who enters at four-pence halfpenny a day in the ranks, may become, nay, has become, one of the

highest persons in the state. "The soldier carries on his *giberne*," (cartouch box) said Napoleon, "the baton of a marshal of France."

During the empire, the battle quickly cleared the intermediate spaces between subaltern and superior ranks. The restoration, desirous of encouraging the young nobility to arms, would gladly have given the same celerity to favour that had attended upon peril: here, however, the nation interposed.

In 1816 a law was passed regulating promotion; and this law anxious only to fetter the court, cramped and depressed the military ardour, which the natural spirit of the people and their long train of conquests had tended, of late more especially, to develope. By this law, no person could pass from one rank to another without four years service in the preceding grade. Not the greatest favorite could obtain the rank of colonel until eighteen years had been passed in climbing the long ladder of inferior steps.

Nothing was more fatal to the old monarchy than this very law; for it drove all the nobility, and the richer and higher classes of society out of it, and thus, with the exception of a few regiments, the army in general was entirely democratic and easily disposed when a

contest arose to take the same views, and the same course as the people.

In 1832, the new government, though composed of many of the men who contended for the law of 1816, presented another law entirely opposed to it. It is no longer, then, now, as under the restoration, an interval of four years of service in each grade, that renders the officer qualified for promotion. It is sufficient that he has served two years in an inferior, or three years in a superior, to be eligible to higher rank. There is also this difference between the two laws, that the present law requires a longer service in the superior rank than in the inferior; while the law of 1816, on the contrary, required longer service and, in consequence, more experience from the subaltern than from the superior officer, which was evidently an absurdity. This law has likewise guarded against favoritism, by being more favourable to seniority. The law of 1816 allowed only a third of the nominations to seniority, that of 1832 gives the moiety; with the exception however, of the ranks of colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and general, where age cannot reasonably be taken as the title for elevation.*

* It seems sufficient for officers to arrive to the rank of major with no other title to merit than their age.

According to this new law, the time necessary to pass from one grade to another, is thus regulated:

Six months service for a soldier to become a soldier of the first class.

Six months for a soldier of the first class to become *corporal*, in the infantry, or *brigadier* in the cavalry.

Six months for a corporal or *brigadier* to become sergeant in the infantry, or *maréchal des logis*, or *fourrier* in the cavalry.

Six months sergeant or *maréchal des logis*, to become sergeant major, or *maréchal des logis chef*.

Six months sergeant-major, or *maréchal des logis chef*, to become *adjutant-sous-officier*.

Three years service to become *sous-lieutenant*—the first and lowest rank of a commissioned officer.

Two years service as a sub-lieutenant, to become lieutenant.

Two years lieutenant to become captain.

Two years captain to become *chef-de-bataillon* in the infantry, or *chef-d'escadron* in the cavalry.

Three years major, (the above ranks are equivalent to that of major in our service) to become lieutenant-colonel.

Three years lieutenant-colonel to become colonel.

Three years colonel to become *maréchal-de-camp*.

Three years in this last rank to become lieutenant-general ;—that grade in the military hierarchy, above which the only dignity is *maréchal de France*.

It is thus seen, that the simple soldier rises as the rest, if his education and good conduct qualify him for promotion. Indeed, the law I have been quoting assigns a third of the nominations of sub-lieutenant to soldiers rising from the ranks*—the remaining two-thirds being reserved, one for the pupils of the military schools ; and the other for the particular choice of the King.

Since the revolution of July, it has so happened that many officers of different corps having left the service : it became nccessary to raise a great number of non-commissioned officer in each regiment, to the rank of officers.

This circumstance has been considered highly favorable to the good disposition of the army, and has awakened in the body of the non-

* Not only does the soldier in these cases give nothing for his commission, he is made an allowance, when he receives it, for his equipment.

commissioned officers, those hopes of distinction and promotion which attached them to the empire, a circumstance of which it is impossible to over-estimate the effects.

The non-commissioned officer lives with the soldier; and there being no aristocratic feelings operating against him, exercises almost an absolute authority over his inferior. A body of unruly or undisciplined non-commissioned officers carry with them in a revolt the entire regiment, and can equally in times of trouble secure its discipline and obedience.

I have said that one third of the commissions are given to the military schools; it will be interesting to say something of these.

The *Ecole Polytechnique* (Polytechnic school) at Paris, is exclusively for artillery and engineers, and on quitting it, the young officer goes for two years to the *Ecole d'application d'Artillerie et du Génie*, (the school for the artillery and engineers) at Metz.

The *Ecole Militaire de St. Cyr*, (the military school of St. Cyr) is for young officers of the line, who, if they pass an examination at the end of two years are made sub-lieutenants.

The admission to this school is in itself sub-

mitted to an examination, and can only be the result of successful competition.

On the 20th July every year this examination takes place in all the principal towns in France, the names of the candidates having been previously inscribed on the 10th June. The candidates must be not less than eighteen, nor more than twenty-one years of age.

The examination is in Latin, French, German, arithmetic, algebra, chemistry, geography, and history; and after these different local examinations a jury at Paris, composed of three general officers, four special examiners, the commandant of the school of St. Cyr, the director of the studies of that academy, and a president, decides on the various claims.

The pupils pay 250 francs on admission for their trousseau, and 1,800 francs per annum;* on quitting St. Cyr, some are engaged in the duties of sub-lieutenant in the infantry, and others, a privileged class, in consequence of having obtained the prizes at the school competitions, pass two additional years at the '*Ecole spéciale de l'état major*,' (school special for the staff) after which they can serve in the capacity of aide-de-

* One in every twenty-five is received and educated gratuitously. These must be persons in distress, and the children of officers in the army.

camp to a general, or be employed on the staff. Some again, destined for the cavalry, are sent to the *Ecole de Cavalerie de Saumur*, where they are taught riding and the service of the cavalry, and there qualify themselves to take rank among the officers of the cavalry regiments. In this school, which is one of the finest establishments of the sort in Europe, three classes receive a complete military education. The first class is composed of captains, lieutenants and cornets of each regiment, who, at the end of two years' study, rejoin their corps and carry there, in quality of *instructors*, the knowledge which they have acquired during their residence at Saumur. The second is formed of young officers from St. Cyr, and the third of young volunteers who at the end of two years proceed, with the rank of non-commissioned officers, to the regiments of cavalry, as '*maréchaux des logis instructeurs*,' (instructors) and assist the principal *instructeur* (instructor) in the education of the soldiers.

The 'Ecole d'état Major' (school for the staff) is for officers destined for that branch of service. The scholars are admitted after an examination, at which, out of 60 candidates, 22 are chosen.

The candidates are of two descriptions,—30

from the military schools, and 30 from the army.

To these, three are added from the Ecole Polytechnique. The 25 entering form the first division; the 25 who have already been a year, the second. At the end of two years the scholars leave.

The military professors are:—

1 Professor of topography and of geodesia.
1 idem of geography, astronomy, and statistics.
1 idem of artillery.
1 idem of the military art, and of service of the staff-major.
1 idem of fortification, attack, and defence of fortresses.
1 idem of military administration.

Besides, the chef de bataillon, charged with the police of the school, explains the theory of the manœuvres of infantry, and one of the capitaines-adjoints, the theory of cavalry manœuvres.

The civil professors are:

1 Professeur de machines, et de lavis.
1 idem of drawing landscape, shades, and perspective.
2 idem of the German language.

The scholars are in barracks, but enjoy every liberty compatible with their studies.

Besides these principal schools, there are still others, called '*Ecoles régimentaires*' which serve for the instruction of non-commissioned officers and soldiers; teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, etc.

I have now run shortly over the principal features of the French army.

First, its administration which is very remarkable.

Secondly, its composition and formation the striking circumstance of which, is the superior class of persons, which by conscription it obtains.

And thirdly, its discipline sustained by the balance of severe punishment on the one side, and great encouragement on the other: but, in reference to the encouragement given to military talent I ought to say something of that institution which, though not wholly military, has been the greatest incentive to military ability, and furnishes at the present moment an example in every respect worthy of imitation to the rest of Europe;—I mean "the institution of the Legion of Honour."

LEGION OF HONOUR.

The royal order of the Legion of Honour was instituted by the law of the 29 *floréal*, year

10, to recompense military and civil virtues and services.

The order is composed of :

Chevaliers, of whom the number is unlimited.	
Officers	2000.
Commanders . .	400.
Grand officers . .	160.
Grand crosses . .	80.

Neither foreigners nor Princes of the Royal Family are included in these numbers. The members swear fidelity to the King, to the charter and the laws.

No one can be admitted but with the first grade as chevalier, and the ordinary regulation requires twenty-five years service during peace* in civil or military functions. In time of war, a brave or brilliant action, or a severe wound, are deemed sufficient authorization for admission. The exception to the former rule is indeed so frequent that it is sufficient to say the King can grant the honor of the order to any person distinguished for his services, in the military or civil departments, or for any benefit he may have conferred upon the sciences or arts.

But to rise to a superior rank, it is indispen-

* A year in time of war counts to the soldier as two.

sable to have passed through the inferior ranks, viz:

1. For the rank of officer, it is necessary to have served four years as a chevalier.

2. For the rank of commander,—two years as an officer.

3. For the rank of grand officer,—three years as a commander.

4. For the rank of grand cross,—five years as a grand officer.

When any promotions are to take place, the King determines the number of decorations of each grade—and a distribution is made by the grand chancellor of the order, in the following proportion, 40 in 40.

2	to the	Minister of Justice and Religion.
1	"	Foreign Affairs.
5	"	Home Affairs.
2	"	Public Works.
2	"	Finances.
20	"	War.
5	"	Marine.
1	"	Public Instruction.
2	"	the Grand Chancellerie.
40		

To every person decorated with this order certain military honors are due on all public

occasions, and at all times a soldier on duty presents arms on seeing the decoration.

The salaries are as follows:

Officers..... 1000 francs.
Commander.... 2000 ditto.
Grand Officers.. 5000 ditto.
Grand Crosses.. 5000 ditto.

All other members of inferior grade, 250 frs.

A colonel may recommend the officers and soldiers of his regiment in the subjoined proportion.

Infantry line.

1 Officer for the cross of officer.

6 Officers, 3 Subaltern officers or soldiers — Regt. of 3 Battalions. — For the Cross of Chevalier.

4 Officers, 2 Subaltern officers or soldiers — Regt. of 2 Battalions. — For the Cross of Chevalier.

Cavalry.

1 Officer for the Cross of Officer.

3 Officers, 1 Subaltern officer or soldier — For the Cross of Chevalier.

There are, besides the order of the Legion of Honour,—

The Order of St. Esprit.
St. Michel.
Mérite Militaire.

It is with extreme deference to military authorities that I venture on a few concluding remarks.

What I have been saying will have struck three classes of persons, I imagine, in three different manners.

The economist will have compared the fourpence half-penny a-week given to the French soldier, with the thirteen pence given to the British.

The philanthropist will have compared the mental punishment inflicted on the French soldier, in many instances, and which raises his character, with the corporal punishment, in the same cases, inflicted on the British soldier, by which his character is degraded.

And the soldier himself will have compared the facilities for attaining military distinction in the one country, and the impediments placed in the way of his attaining military distinction in the other.

Exaggeration upon all these subjects is no doubt likely to arise.

The British soldier is not paid so much more than the French soldier, when you consider, first, the different expenses of washing, and many minor necessaries in France; especially when you see that the messing of the British

soldier is eight-pence, and that of the French three-pence.

Neither is the punishment so much less severe in the French service than in the English, because, if the English soldier is sometimes flogged when the French soldier would not be so, the French soldier is sometimes shot where the English one would be flogged.

Neither is the hardship in respect to promotion entirely the same, as long as the two systems remain upon their present footing.

The English army is recruited by volunteers from the working class of England; that is to say, it is from the most destitute of a class, the great bulk of which is in a miserable state, and removed almost altogether, as well from the habits as the feelings of their country, from rising much above their native condition.

The French army, on the contrary, is recruited, not by volunteers of the working class, but by conscripts from every class, and the injustice would be terrible if you forced a man of fair prospects and education, to whom all professions were open, to engage in the army, and then did not allow him any chance of advancing himself in the service into which you had compelled him to enter.

The two armies are not to be compared as if

the state of government and the state of society were the same in the two countries; they are to be contrasted as the results of two governments and two states of society entirely different.

I am painting in deplorable colours the condition of the British soldier. He is shewn me in the heart of Asia panting beneath a tropical sun, subjected to the lash, unvisited by any gleam of promotion; and I am asked, is twenty-five years such service the melancholy vista through which he has to look for sixpence a day?

God knows, I think the case cruel and severe enough!*

But see what his case would have been at

* If any effective regulations can be made to remedy this, they might be, first, in relation to corporal punishment; secondly, in respect to pensions, and time of service. Better men might possibly enter the army, if the release they expected was of shorter date; and at all events it would be fairer and kinder to give a more frequent opinion. A scale of pensions, not disadvantageous to the government, might easily be devised, favouring this,—allowing more than we now give after twenty-five years of service, and admitting the retirement on a small pension, or by purchase, at much shorter dates.

home! Would he have been happier as a Sussex labourer, or a handloom weaver, or even a cotton spinner, in his native country?

Now starved, now intoxicated, with his children here in the workhouse, and there in the factory! the situation of the British soldier is relative to the situation that he would have held if he had not been a soldier, and of this you have the best assurance in the voluntary nature of his service. His punishments, his advancement are all according to the ideas which prevail in respect to the class he belongs to, and the position which, if a citizen, he would have filled.

You offer him a decent maintenance; this he expects, if he works, because, as a peasant, he can get a scanty maintenance by law, if he does not work. You subject him to a life of much hardship and much constraint; this he submits to, if he is paid, because, as a peasant, he would have also been subjected to severe toil, and much constraint.

You do not offer him much prospect of rising in the army, because he enjoyed, poor fellow, little prospect of rising in the world! He is the creature of your laws and your habits, which declare that no man is to be compelled to any thing except by poverty, and, at the

same time, subject the great masses of society to this law of voluntary compulsion.

All is liberty, if you please to call it so, and inequality.

In France it is just the reverse. In the first place, the law, by what we should call an arbitrary enactment, has diffused the advantages of fortune amongst all persons; and, in the second place, it has, by another arbitrary enactment, forced all persons to be soldiers.

You are not, then, in looking at the army, to consider merely the army, but the state of society from which the army comes.

Every part of a system is much more interwoven with the whole than we are at first sight disposed to imagine: we place property in a few hands. Our next consequence must be—in order to preserve property—to place power in a few hands also.

What follows?—the high ranks are for the rich, the low for the poor.—

Apply this to the army!—Your officers buy their commissions;—your ranks are filled with the desperate and the starving. This army for a time serves the country it belongs to well, in spite of all theories to the contrary, because it reflects the society of that country where the rich are used to command and the poor to

obey. But other notions in respect to society and government spring up ; we discover things which we deem ought to be remedied. The first practice in medicine and legislation is to attack symptoms ; it is not until after much experience that we really assail the disease. But the same distemper shews itself differently in different persons, and is met for a time in different ways.

You wish to elevate the working classes, and you make laws against pauperism ; you wish to elevate the soldiery, and you make regulations against flagellation. You will come at last to some fact which lies at the bottom of all this.

NATIONAL GUARD.

I shall now say one or two words on the civil force of France, which has occupied more or less of our attention of late years.

The National Guard was re-organized by a law of the 22nd March 1831.

Every Frenchman, aged from twenty to sixty years, is obliged to serve in the district in which he is domiciled, with a few exceptions provided for by the law.

The service is divided into—service in the interior of the commune ; and into—service by

detachment out of the territory of the commune; *i.e.* the service of detached corps for the purpose of aiding the troops of the line.*

There is the ordinary service, comprising all citizens who pay a personal contribution; and there is a reserve, comprising all citizens for whom the habitual service would be too onerous; these latter are only called out under extraordinary circumstances.

A national guard of cavalry may also be formed in any commune or canton where it may be judged useful or necessary, always providing that *ten* persons will undertake to equip and furnish themselves with horses at their own expense.

In all fortified places there are companies of artillery.

There are besides, companies of *sapeur-pompiers* in places where they do not exist, as belonging to the line; and in the sea-ports, companies of marines are also formed.

The punishments, in cases of disobedience

* When the national guard furnishes detached corps on the defence of fortified towns on the frontiers, the service can only last for twelve months. In such cases, the national guard are subject to the laws of the army, and receive the same treatment and pay.

or infraction of the regulations, are applied by a council of discipline, composed of a captain, as president, a lieutenant or sub-lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, and a private.

The government furnishes clothing, arms, and equipment, on the demand of those who have not themselves the means to purchase their outfit.

The national guards wounded in the service are entitled to the same indemnities as the troops of the line.

The King has power to dissolve the national guard at his pleasure, either entirely or by companies in the different districts.

The object of the government in respect to this force is, to have it as much a local one as possible; and its formation is subject to the regulations most likely to effect this.

A commune where it is possible, furnishes a company, and the adjoining parts of it a subdivision of a company.

FORMATION OF COMPANIES.

SUB-DIVISION OF A COMPANY.

	14 years	15 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50
Lieutenants .	0	0	0	1	1
Sub-Lieuts. .	0	1	1	1	1
Serjeants . . .	1	1	2	2	3
Corporals . .	1	2	4	4	6
Drummers . .	0	0	0	1	1

The ordinary force of a company is from 60 to 200 persons, according to the populousness of the locality; but if a commune can only furnish 50 men, that number forms a company.

A COMPANY CONSISTS OF

	50 to 80	80 to 100	100 to 140	140 to 20
1st Captain	1	1	1	1
2nd Captain	0	0	0	1
Lieutenauts	1	1	2	2
Sub-Lieuts.	1	2	2	2
Serj. Major	1	1	1	1
Serj. Fourrier	1	1	1	1
Serjeants ..	4	6	6	8
Corporals ..	8	12	12	16
Drummers..	1	2	2	2

BATTALIONS.

A battalion must be formed of four companies at least and eight at most.

The staff of a battalion is as follows :—

A chef de bataillon.

Captain adjutant major.

A standard bearer sub-lieutenant.

A surgeon adjutant major.

An adjutant subaltern officer,

And a tambour maître.

If more than one company is formed in any commune the companies coming from the same commune cannot be allotted to different battalions.

In those cantons or towns where there are two battalions of 500 men each, these may be united into a legion, and in those communes which furnish more legions than one, these may be united under a commander-in-chief—who is named by the King.

All the officers up to, and including the cap tain in each company, are chosen by the persons designated to form it.

The chef de bataillon, and standard bearer of the battalion, are chosen by the officers and non-commissioned officers of that battalion.

The chefs de légion and the lieutenant-colonels are chosen by the King, out of a list of ten candidates, designated by the persons who choose the chef de bataillon.

These are the principal regulations in respect to this municipal force intended to be at once as an aid, a check upon the army of the line, and placed under the authority of the mayors, prefects, sub-prefects, as delegates of the minister of the interior;—who is to the national guard what the minister of war is to the army.

CENTRALIZATION.

CHAPTER XI.

Concluding Remarks.

I TRUST that I have not proceeded thus far, wading as a matter of necessity through many dry details, without conducting the reader, who has been patient enough to accompany me, to some knowledge of the matter we set out in quest of.

I mean, the civil and military administration of France—under a system of centralization.

We have seen the whole receipts and expenditure of the government managed by one

office, and the accounts of a country thus kept with the exactitude of a counting-house; while every local budget is also brought under the eye of the executive, which learns in this manner, not only how much the state requires for its common purposes, but how much the village requires for its especial ones.

We have seen all the tribunals of the law centralized in a particular court, and the administration of the laws also centralized in a particular ministry; the one preserving a universality in the decrees of justice, and the other, a universality in its motion.

We have seen too, the system which detects or prevents the crime in harmony with that which judges the criminal; all the powers of pursuit directed by one hand, and all the duties of inspection centered in one great eye, which casts its regard over the whole empire, tracing by an especial process the footsteps of every individual, and watching with equal vigilance the petty felon who is stealing a watch, and the state criminal who is plotting a revolution.

We have seen the instruction of the people as well as the prosecution of the criminal, also considered a state affair, and entrusted to a ministry, the centre of a variety of ramifica-

tions, by which the branches of education are at once controlled and provided for.

We have seen even commerce and manufactures connected by a series of links with the department which presides over their prosperity, carried from the country to the towns —from the towns to the capital, and in the capital placed under a public functionary with whom they communicate.

We have seen the administration of the interior of the country extending like so many branches from a parent tree—which defends the region where it flourishes from many evils by the extent of its vast shadow—but prevents the growth of many advantages, therein, by the extent of its vast roots.

We have seen, moreover, the elements of conquest combined in the same manner as the elements of peace. The military administration conducted on the same principle as the civil; and an immense army paid, punished, promoted, maintained, disbanded by one public officer, before whom every possible consideration is brought, and by whom every order is given.

The force which is to preserve France from aggression, is framed indeed on different principles from that which is to carry out its ideas

of conquest, but it has still, even in its local fractions, a connexion with the head of the state, and while the inferior officers are named by the people, its superior officers are chosen by the monarch.

The system of public receipt and expenditure in France, such as I have described it, the result of many experiments and alterations, is not only good in itself, but especially excellent for the country which adopts it, where long habits of financial peculation render it impossible to give great authority to subordinate functionaries, and yet where from the absence of local banks and the smallness of general credit, it is necessary that the government should make every effort for the local receipt and payment of all monies where it is possible and for their rapid circulation where it is not.

The judicial system possesses some faults doubtless, but is frequently blamed not because it is bad, but because it is badly administered.

There is no legal reason why the president of a 'court royal,' should assail a prisoner as if he were a prosecutor instead of judge —there is no legal reason why the judge of a court of the first instance, before whom a pri-

soner must appear within twenty-four hours after his capture, should keep that prisoner in confinement, if he ought to let him loose. Here we can only say that the law, though favourable to freedom, is not sufficient in many instances to counterbalance the manners which are favourable to power.

But, take the judicial system as a whole—with the superb fiction of a public ministry charged with the prosecution of crimes—and which extending throughout the kingdom, has a *procureur-du-roi* in every arrondissement, and a *procureur-général* in every judicial division —with the local courts that offer such an easy access to justice, and where the government, (as is generally the case) is not concerned, justice is invariably dealt out—with the prompt and conciliatory process on all minor civil cases, where the judgment of the magistrate is definitive—with the clearness, simplicity and unity of the law, which is maintained and defined by one ultimate and central court of appeal—take the judicial system as a whole, I say, and it must be admitted to contain great advantages, which might be rendered greater;—but which a people may be well content to purchase with some defects.

The criminal police, with its passports and

gendarmerie, considered as attached to the system I have just been mentioning, might be a wise and beneficent, but is an immense exertion of power; such as a community accustomed to it might do well to continue, but which it would be fatal to transmigrate to other countries, long accustomed to privileges of individual freedom.

The political police is, I feel convinced, at once dangerous and useless. It sometimes creates plots, it never discovers them when they are worth discovering; it destroys social confidence; it creates a perpetual suspicion of the executive power, and sometimes teazes a nation into revolt when there really exists no great cause for disaffection.

The ministry of instruction, with that incongruity that pervades most of the French institutions, exercises rights the most arbitrary, and aims at objects the most popular. That the government should assume to itself the power of dictating to every private establishment the course of education they should pursue, and even the very books through which they should pursue it—would be considered by a nation such as ourselves, one of the most serious infringements of social liberty; on the other hand, that a state should charge itself

with the careful provision of education for every one of its inhabitants, the poor as well as the rich, offering every encouragement, whether in the military or civil service, or through literary institutions, for every successful exercise of talent and assiduity, is a policy so enlightened and so paternal, that it is difficult to distrust the hand it proceeds from. In fact, the abuses such a ministry might be guilty of, are checked by that public opinion it must create; but though a liberal legislator would propose such a plan without hesitation, I doubt much whether a country long accustomed to freedom would be willing to receive it.

The scheme of commercial administration has many benefits. It brings the minister into direct and practical contact with all the wants and defects of industry. It presents him through the means of a small and respectable body, with the state not merely of commerce and manufactures, but of the manufacturing and commercial classes throughout the country. It affords him the opportunity of sifting statements, and comparing interests. In short, it gives to an able man immense facility in thoroughly understanding that important branch of administration over which he presides. But it also gives to the interests of the producer

which are centralized and represented, a great superiority over those of the consumer, which are not so, and has, no doubt, had a sensible influence over the commercial policy which, in contradiction to our remonstrances, France still determines on pursuing.

The interior administration of the country which is, in fact, the administration of the minister of the interior, though I mention it last, more especially deserves our consideration.

Wherever the aristocracy is in England, the government is in France. The magistrates are paid by—and attached to—the government. The Lord Lieutenants are paid by—and attached to —the government. As far as this goes, there is much to say not only against but in favour of the plan. It collects power, but it collects responsibility also, round one authority. It extinguishes the influence of all petty and local passions, and it gives to the administration, which is answerable for the peace of the country, a proper control over those who are appointed to preserve it.

That even the mayor should be an officer appointed by the crown is defencible; for if otherwise chosen, he must in many places be an enemy of the state.

But the question most disputed and most disputable is the power which the government has, and which the government exercises, of interfering in all those minor affairs of expenditure and improvement which it would appear that the locality itself might best decide on.

Not only cannot a commune determine its own expenses without the consent of the minister or one of his deputed functionaries, it cannot even erect a building, the cost of which shall have been sanctioned, without the plan being adopted by a board of public works attached to the central authority, and having the supervision and direction of every public building throughout the kingdom.

The arguments in support of this are many and plausible. In the first place, its advocates say, "the power of the minister is only an economic one; he cannot compel the communes to any expense, but simply prevent or moderate the expenses they are anxious to incur. What motive can he have for exercising this authority that would make it likely that he should abuse it? Is he not rather likely to sanction, than to refuse an undertaking which the inhabitants of the place consent to, and which, if successful, illustrates his administration?

Is not the board of works, too, composed of

skilful architects and engineers better able to furnish an elegant design, or to correct a bad one than the village mason?

Is it not in this manner, that France may be enriched, even in her remote hamlets, by the taste which presides in her capital; and edifices, really beautiful, erected at the same, or even at a less cost, than some monstrous pile of bricks and mortar would be, if provincial barbarism had no check put upon its inventions?" All these are plausible arguments and easy to find, because, as there is no good without its evil, so there is no evil without its good. But they disappear at once, as merely involving small questions of detail when taking a broader view of the question, we look at human nature as the guide to legislation, and consider what breathes into a people, that spirit and that energy which are the real elements of national greatness. The Indians teach their children to swim by throwing them into the water beyond their depth. We learn most things in the same manner, by having to struggle against difficulties, and being left to our own resources.

What then is the consideration of a commune's accidental extravagance, or a prison's

or a hospital's inelegant construction, compared with that habit of acting for ourselves, and thinking for ourselves, and relying upon ourselves, which gives not only to individuals, but to nations, that invaluable moral property which we call "character," and which never abandons us in any moment of our lives.

Centralization in a government is an excellent thing, providing you can place a proper control upon it, where the object is general; but it is upon the whole a foolish and an inexpedient thing where the object is local.

Of the army, I have spoken at such length and in such detail, that if I pause upon it here again, it can only be to say, that the system under which it moves, seems the best calculated to give a terrible energy to this terrible force; which strange to say, is less likely to be hostile to liberty from the greatest innovation of its rights; for in forcing the citizen to become the soldier, we leave the soldier also in a great degree the citizen.

A militia or national guard is an institution well adapted to a military people, like the Prussians and the French, who amused by the drum and the uniform, give up their time without

reluctance, to bearing the duties of a soldier, while they retain all the tastes and principles of civil independence, guarding their country alike from the despotism of a native army, or the aggression of a foreign enemy. But to a nation of more commercial tastes and habits, it would be one of the greatest burthens perhaps, that could possibly beimposed. Venice, Holland, and Carthage, had in the days of their glory a mercenary force—so great, though they were brave, was their dislike to arms as a profession. And with us, who have no army to fear at home, and no aggression to apprehend from abroad, it would be difficult to find a more useless and odious, and (as it would be found to those whose time is more valuable than the pay of a soldier) a more expensive invention.*

I have thus passed, perhaps too hastily, over an immense system, the axis of which turning by a regular and uniform motion, brings to the army on a certain day its soldiers, to the national guard its officers, to the arrondissements and departments their councillors, to

* Colonel Davies, late M.P. for Worcester, had some idea, I believe, of making the proposition.

the communes their corporations, mayors, and adjuncts.

Take to pieces the machinery of this system —you will see, in spite of the symmetry of the whole, a vast diversity in the parts; some of which are of the most democratic, some of the most monarchical description.

No institution is so insignificant as not to be connected, in some way, with the crown—none so exclusive as not offer the highest honours to the people. The mayor of the smallest commune is the king's officer, and the son of a butcher, in a field marshal's uniform, is the chief officer in the royal palace.

It may be all very well to say that this is the same as in Turkey; there is as much difference between this and any thing that exists, or ever did exist in Turkey, as between any two things the most opposed: for the public spirit which prevails in France is in favour of intelligence and freedom, as the public spirit in Turkey is in favour of tyranny and ignorance. Besides, it is not the King who is all powerful in France, but the King's government. Here is a difference that may alter every thing—for the government is responsible before a body, which, according to the meaning of the constitution,

should be popularly elected, and in spite of which it cannot exist.

The improvements, indeed, that we may expect in modern legislation—lie in the proper combination of these two principles :—a great possibility of doing good, a strong check upon the power of doing evil.

It is to the chamber of deputies then that we have now to turn; and if that chamber be not what it ought to be, *there* is the place where we should propose alterations.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

CHAPTER XII.

Right of Election—Mode of electing—Eligibility—Proceedings of the Chamber—Laws and propositions—Constituency considered and Chamber dissected.

We have been led by the last chapter to the consideration of the chamber of deputies.

I shall first state its formation, attributes, and usages, and then consider it in general relation with the government, and the system of which it forms a part.

RIGHT OF ELECTION.

Every Frenchman, aged twenty-five years, enjoying his civil and political rights, and pay-

ing 200 frs. of direct contributions, is an elector.*

The number of electors is ascertained by the following process, which answers to our registration :

From the first to the tenth of June the mayors of the different communes in their respective cantons meet in the chef-lieu of the canton, and there, with the aid of the collectors of the taxes, revise the list of the year preceding. This list is sent by the sub-prefect of the arrondissement with his observations to the prefect of the department before the first of July, who in his turn revises it, stating his reasons for the decisions he comes to ; the list is then printed, and deposed at the mayoralty of every commune by the 15th of August; any claims then made are judged by the prefect in council, from whom there is no appeal but to a 'cour royale,' which however is obliged to decide the case definitively, and *without expense.*

* Officers in the army and navy, members and correspondents of the Institut, need only pay 100 frs.

Contributions counted as direct are the land tax, the personal and furniture tax, the door and window tax, taxes on patents, and every tax levied under the title of 'centimes additionnels.'

MODE OF ELECTING.

The chamber of deputies is composed of 459 deputies,* elected by 459 electoral colleges, each electing one deputy.

These colleges are convoked by the King, and in that town in the electoral arrondissement which he shall appoint; no discussion is allowed.†

The college elects its president and examiners, and the election commences. A list of the electors being fixed up in the place of election, the president calls on the electors by name and each receives from him a piece of paper open; on this piece of paper he writes the name of the candidate he prefers, folds it up, and gives it back to the president, who puts it in a box placed by him for that purpose.‡

* A deputy accepting a public office at home, vacates his seat, but not until the reunion of the electoral college, by which he is to be re-elected.

A minister changing from one public office to another does not vacate his seat.

† No armed force can be in the neighbourhood unless demanded by the college itself.

‡ As the elector does this, an examiner takes down his name, as having voted.

The box remains open for six hours, and is closed at 3 o'clock in the evening, when its contents are immediately examined.

1. The number of papers is compared with the number of persons who have voted.

2. An examiner opens each piece of paper, and gives it to the president, who calls out the name inscribed on it.

The result is then made public, and the papers burnt.

A deputy to be elected immediately, must unite one third of the total number of votes inscribed in the college, and one half of the votes taken in his favour.

If the scrutiny, having once taken place, does not produce this result, the bureau declares the two candidates who have got the most votes, and no other can then compete with them; the one who on the next trial has the bare majority is elected.* A college is opened for ten days; and every matter of dispute that occurs is taken down and submitted afterwards for decision to the chamber of deputies.

* Whenever there is an equal number of votes on this occasion, the eldest has the preference.

ELIGIBILITY.

To be eligible for the chamber,* the candidate must be thirty years of age, and pay 500frs. of direct taxes, (equal to an income six times the amount.) Half the deputies in a department must be chosen amongst those whose political residence is in that department.†

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHAMBER.

At the commencement of every session, the chamber is divided by lot into nine bureaux, composed, as much as possible, of an equal number of members.

Each bureau names its president and secretary.‡

Each bureau discusses the question sent it by the chamber, and names a member to write

* Neither a prefect, a sub-prefect, nor a receiver-general, or a receiver of department, can be chosen deputy by the district in which he performs his functions. Neither general officers commanding divisions, nor procureurs-du-roi, nor procureurs-généraux, nor the directors of contributions, etc. can be elected within the sphere of their authority and jurisdiction; nor if they quit such post, can they be eligible there till six months after the time of their having done so.

† When the contrary occurs, lots are drawn among the successful candidates.

‡ These bureaux are renewed every month.

a report of its opinion. When two-thirds of the bureaux declare themselves prepared, the reporters from each meet and discuss the questions amongst themselves, and then name a common reporter, who reports to the chamber twenty-four hours at least before the general discussion begins.*

For petitions there is a general commission: one member named by each bureau; it makes its report every week, in which is included the name and habitation of the petitioners as well as the object of their request.

Except in case of dissolution, the legislative measures begun in one session continue on in the stage in which they were left, to the next.

The chamber is presided over by a president whom it chooses, and four vice-presidents.

LAWS AND PROPOSITIONS.

Every law proposed to the chamber by the

* Besides these different bureaux, there are commissions: one for the budget, for instance, which is formed of thirty-six members, four being named by each bureau of the chamber.

There will be to this commission as many reporters as there are ministers, each reporting on the expense of a particular minister.

King or the chamber of peers, after being read to the chamber is sent to the bureaux.

Every member who wishes to make a proposition must sign and depose it on the president's table to be by him communicated to the different bureaux.

If three of these are of opinion it should be developed, it will be read at the next sitting, and the deputy will fix the day when he will speak upon it.

If then approved of, it will be printed and sent back again to the bureaux, which discuss and report upon it.

On all laws the vote is secret, on other propositions it is open, unless members demand the ballot.

Here then is the chamber of deputies, proceeding with much clearness and regularity in its proceedings, having in many of its forms—the institution of its bureaux for instance—much that we ourselves might do well to consider, if not to imitate—having in the mode of its election also, the advantage of that ballot which we are here contending for, and which seems to be conducted with perfect safety and facility*—but only elected by persons, who

* The small number of voters of course aids this.

possess in property fifty pounds a year—i. e. who pay 200 francs of direct taxes—a proportion of about 173-4 electors, in a country containing 32,500,000 inhabitants.

Whichever way we consider this, the result seems equally injudicious.

In the first place, the more power you confide in the executive government (and in France, it appears necessary to confide a great deal of power to the executive government,) the more popular ought to be the sources from which that government rises, and the more national the control by which its abuses are to be prevented and judged.

Secondly. The more places which a government has at its disposition, and the government of France has all over France places to dispose of—the wider you must extend a representation which should be beyond such influences.

Thirdly. The more property is diffused, and property is as we have seen most widely diffused in France, the more safely can you diffuse political power also.

Fourthly. As is the great bulk of the people, so ought to be the majority of the representatives, and yet by so confined a qualification, you give the towns, about one fifth of the population, a majority in the repre-

sentation over the country where fortunes are more divided; in short, I see no kind of reason; except the shallow, though plausible one: viz. that if there are only 173,185 electors, here are only 126,353 who present themselves for the exercise of this right.

To a chamber taken by a phrase, this reason would suffice; but to any person at all acquainted with the natural consequence of restricted and popular institutions—the argument used to shew the inutility of extending the suffrage demonstrates its necessity. Men act greatly by sympathy and emulation, and only take an interest in those affairs, about which they see their neighbours bestirring themselves.

The more restricted, therefore, you make the right of election, the fewer will be the persons anxious to exercise their right of electors; and an unwarrantable apathy, in respect to public affairs, becomes the best argument against the system which produces it.

What then must be the consequences of a constitution which gives the greatest circumference to the government, and the narrowest basis to the constituency?

The following is an analysis of the existing chamber; which represents pretty correctly its condition:—

No. of votes at the last Elections in favor of.	Deputies.
37,966	216 juste-milieu.
21,982	125 third party.
4,005	25 legitimist party.
16,184	95 extreme left (or liberal).
80,137	
For persons not elected 46,216	
Total voted 126,353	
Did not vote 46,832	
Electors 173,185	

SOCIAL POSITION OF PERSONS RETURNED

ADMINISTRATION.	MAGISTRATURE.
6 Ministers.	19 Presidents.
2 Secrétaires généraux.	3 Avocats généraux.
2 Directeurs or inspecteurs généraux.	5 Procureurs généraux.
	7 Procureurs-du-roi.
39 Mayors.	26 Councillors.
1 Adjunct.	8 Judges of civil tribunals.
50 Named by government.	
37 members of councils general not named by government	4 Justices of peace.
	7 The court of accounts.
89	17 Employed in the council of state.
	96 named by the government.

That is, named by government:

Administration	50	146
Magistrature	96	

ARMY.

1 Marshal of France.
13 Lieutenant-generals.
5 Camp-marshals.
7 Colonels.
5 Lieutenant-colonels.
2 Chief-of-battalion.
7 Captains.
3 Military Intendants.
1 Marine Prefect.
1 Captains of corvettes.
2 Engineers.

146
45 more or less under government influence. 45
191

COURT.

4 Aides-de-camp to the King.
1 Ordonance officer to the King.
4 Servants of the crown.

9 named by government. 191
9
200

4 Diplomacy.

Named by the government. 200
4
204

Advocates.
Doctors.
Men of Letters. 55
Manufacturers.
Bankers.
Notaries, &c. 45
Persons without any particular
professions. 118
Not named by government.——216
Under government 204
Not under government 215

Such is the chamber !

Now in speaking of the places which the government had to give away, I stated them in the analysis to the first volume, at 55,000; this merely takes in the most considerable, since small places and large places taken together, there are in the ministry of finance alone above 57,000.

Still, for every place to be given away, there are three persons at least who expect to obtain it, while there are not much more upon an average than three electors to each place :— a constituency then is easily bribed by expectations from its representative, and a representative, as we have seen, meets with his recompense from the minister.

Thus the body I have been considering is not what it should be—a fair check upon the executive authority—by being a fair representation of public opinion.

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER XIII.

Review of past work—The amalgamation of different effects proceeding from different causes—Modern France, the consequence of former history and recent institutions—Whether the equality sprung from one and coloured by the other is compatible with free government—The effects of centralization and of a small constituency—Monarchy of the middle classes as it is, as it might be.

My title was ambitious; I undertook a great task. Is it nearly completed?—Doubtless much that I intended to say has been overlooked and forgotten! much remains to say for which neither time nor space are allowed me! and yet, reader, cast back your eyes over the road

we have traversed—the view is an extensive one.

Behold again that Paris which we saw from yonder heights of *Père la Chaise* crowded with bacchanalians, monks, cavaliers and mobs!—the recollections of fifteen centuries!

Behold again that people so gay, so witty, so warlike, and so vain, whose brow is chronicled with centuries, and whose character is still in its youth.

Behold again those revolutions, amidst which passed away a solemn and brocaded court—a terrible and sanguinary republic—a glorious and conquering empire—a prosperous but misguided monarchy!

Look at the influences which have survived; the literature, the religion, the philosophies which exist; the manner in which the soil of France is divided; the social condition which the French people enjoy; the species of government under which they are placed!—Look, I say, at these things—and here is the point where we should regard them, not one by one, but as a whole;—and combining the past with the present, try to comprehend a country motleyed by its manners, its laws, its history, its ideas!

We see a nation fond of change and of glory

from character; attached to luxury and elegance from education; a soil almost agrarianly distributed—making of its cultivators a people of proprietors, and a people of equals; a government concentrated in the hands of an executive authority, responsible before two tribunals—of which it names one, and must find it easy, except in extraordinary crises, to corrupt the other; and a public opinion founded on abstract rights, and daily more and more inclining towards liberal institutions.

In all this we have, in much, to modify the results of one circumstance, by the results of another! a nation fond of change may be given to violent revolutions:—but a nation of proprietors is hostile to violent revolutions. A people of equals may depress talent as a distinction, and banish elegance as a vice: but a people glorious and luxurious, honour Genius as a divinity, and give to Taste a temple among the Arts. A government concentrated in the hands of the executive authority, controlling the power which ought to control it, may become a despotism:—but a public opinion favourable to liberty, if restrained for a time by the fear of its own excesses, can never by any species of government be ultimately crushed. How shall I describe the amalgamation of so many op-

posing effects, springing from so many opposing causes?

Shall I say that we find the popular feelings of the street amidst the ancient habits of a court;—a terrible machinery for despotism amidst the modern sentiments of democracy?—before us, perhaps, is the spectacle of a people whose manners have been formed under an absolute government, and whose opinions tend to a republican government.

Indeed, in turning back once again to the volumes I am concluding, their subject seems fairly enough divided, like they themselves have been, into two parts;—the one referring rather to the effects of nature and of former times, the other rather to the effects of recent institutions.

Proceeding from the first—were those influences, female, literary, and military, which have made the French frivolous, literary, warlike. Proceeding from the second is—that custom of succession, which, whether we look at literature or the press addressing themselves to all classes—to the state, taking into its bosom all religions—to society possessing neither grandees nor paupers—establishes on all sides, and in all things, an equality—which imbibing the colours of preceding circumstances, makes the French people what they are.

I say 'imbibing the colours of preceding circumstances,' for simply to say that France is distinguished by the equality that reigns there, would not be sufficiently characterizing this peculiar nation.

That equality might exist elsewhere amongst simple tastes, as here it exists amongst ostentatious tastes,—or amongst peaceful desires as here amongst warlike desires—or amongst local popular institutions, as here under a centralized administration—or amongst ideas favourable to despotism, as here amongst ideas bordering upon licence.

Whether for good or evil—that equality must remain; for it is based upon the two things most difficult to alter: the distribution of property and the natural affections of the human heart. It has made the French a happy people; need it prevent them from being a free one? I say —it need not.

The centralized administration I have described may be favoured by it, but it is not caused by it. A people formed into a democracy may govern in their villages as in their capital. Of this America is an example—if they do not wish to do so, it is less because they are a democracy now, than because they have not been a democracy long; if they ought

not to do so, it is not because they are equal amongst themselves, but because they are divided amongst themselves, and that a delegated authority from the whole of the empire, is necessary to keep together its parts. Neither need such a system be necessarily, as I have elsewhere observed, one of despotism.

If the French ministry was the result of a majority of a chamber which represented the majority of the nation—that ministry, however powerful, would be merely the most efficient organ for working out the popular will. Nay more, if the French ministry are not this—the same cause which gives a danger to the tendency of centralization, places in reality, though not perhaps in appearance, a check upon its power.

A strong government is not merely a strong administrative machine for governing the affairs of a people, it must be a strong administrative machine that governs the people as well as their affairs. Held and directed by the hands of one man, or of twenty men, it must descend, if I may use such comparison, into the nation, like the wheel of yonder vessel descends into the waters; there is the force of that mysterious engine — in those free and stormy waves!

A government, I say, must be popular to be

strong, whatever the source whence that popularity springs.

Oh! but Bonaparte!

Bonaparte did not indeed appeal to his people, through electoral chambers, and liberal laws; such was not the genius of the man. He did not appeal to the reason—he appealed to the passions of the French, and the drum beating, and the tricolour flying, with victory in the van, all France followed his heels. If Bonapartes were common, charters would be waste paper.

A conqueror is beloved by a vain and martial race as long as he conquers; he has little to study but the fortunes of his sword. When Kings too were anointed with a divine oil—the vice-regents of god upon earth—their authority was fixed in one of the deepest recesses of the human heart, and the distant barbarian worshipped the sovereign, whose sceptre was a scourge, as he did the god of the storm which devastated his plains.

It is passed—all this:—the most revered monarchs are but men; and another Bonaparte may perchance arise in five hundred years.

Besides a nation cannot always be at war; and to govern an active and intelligent people

in peace, you must give a vent to their intelligence, a vent to their activity—that activity, that intelligence should not be out of the government, or it will destroy the government—but within the government—where it will animate the government.

Why is the press formidable to the existing state of things? Because the press appeals to the whole country, and the constitution appeals to one person in every 11,850 throughout the country. Why is the police maintained? Because it is necessary to know what the nation is thinking and doing—and the national chamber can hardly be said to represent the nation. The most popular institution is put down, the most unpopular preserved, for the same reason. The strongest species of administration that can be invented is not strong, because it does not proceed from a sufficient number of those for whom it administers.

In summing up the whole system, then, I stand again before that great fault—a confined representation. It relieves the government from a salutary restraint, but it exposes the government to a continual danger: it gives the government the appearance of arbitrary power, and at the same time really cripples the government with just apprehension: it exposes the people to the

suspicion of oppression, and the state to the fear of resistance.

Let us look at the restoration!

From 1815 to 1830 the course followed was—not to choose a ministry from the majority of an assembly which represented the nation, but to obtain a majority in that assembly for some favourite minister in spite of the nation.

Thus cabinet after cabinet sustained itself. The men who had been accidentally called to power were not to be changed on any account —no; if any thing was to be altered, some fundamental part of the constitution might just be remodelled for the day, so as to disarm their opponents. The representative body became a mere political plaything. Mark the consequence!

M. de Villèle for a long time maintained his majority. But what was that majority? a veil between him and the nation he governed. Even he himself was actually blinded by that veil;—for a small constituency has this double disadvantage—*it is not inaccessible to public opinion while it deceives a minister as to the progress of that opinion.*

What is in the nation reaches it at last—

slowly, late, but it arrives. One morning the minister is in a minority in the chamber, which he has been accustomed to command; but this does not happen till he has been for years in a minority out of doors. Who then shall be his successor? a M. de Martignac—who cannot satisfy by concessions? A M. de Polignac—who cannot conquer by resistance?*

Still let us not exaggerate the evils which it is a duty to point out.

The monarchy of the middle classes, such as it exists in France, though susceptible of great improvements, is not a government (for the people to whom it is given) that can wisely be repudiated or justly despised. It has achieved, and if continued, will more perfectly perpetuate, that which legislation long deemed impracticable.

* But if a government is maintained by the army and the national guard! how is a government to know that it is supported by the army and the national guard? because they do not resist it? but men whose duty it is to obey will not resist, except in the most urgent cases, and at the latest moment.

When they resist the government, then the government cannot resist them; and thus only learns that it is disapproved by a fortunate revolution which upsets it. Surely, the science of legislation should produce some more happy result than this.

I mean, a constitution containing no privileged class, and yet, in which the monarch is not a cypher and the people are not slaves.

Such is the government at present;—if called upon to state what it might be with more advantage, I should describe something not wholly different, but which giving greater solidity, perhaps majesty, to the throne, would give greater power to the people, greater independence and nationality to the chamber of peers.

I should say, in short, that the best government for France, without starting forth in quest of any of those extraordinary changes which are to produce theoretical perfection, would be *a popular and splendid monarchy, supported here by a national army, there by a citizen guard —administered by a centralized administration, and having for coadjutors—a chamber of Peers elected from the superiorities of the country, which would represent, as it were, its moral interests; and a chamber of deputies, elected by a large constituency, which would represent its material interests.*

Such a government would be consistent with the manners and the ideas I have described; it would make what belongs to old times compatible with the birth of new; and by placing despotism under the legitimate con-

trol of a democracy, which now agitates society in opposition to the law—render possible the union of free institutions, with a confidence in the executive power.

Such a government would no doubt have its faults; but it would accord with all the predominant feelings of the French nation; and, at such a government, if the present dynasty be not overturned by some violent shock, it will—even in spite of itself—arrive.

POLICY
OF PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER XIV.

The existing government in France a government of resistance, and why it is so—Considered as to where it should resist, and how resist—Has resisted open violence, popular representation and the press—How far justifiable—Recent laws against the Press—How far wrong—Character of administration—Necessary policy of government.

HAVING spoken of the present state and probable prospects of the existing monarchy, I am called to the consideration of the policy by which it is now supported.

I confess that this subject is one of difficulty, and that I approach it with no common diffidence in my judgment—no common hesitation,

let me add, in respect to publishing my opinions —since they differ very essentially, as well from the party by whom the present French administration is attacked with unqualified violence, as from that party by which it is with equal violence defended.

The nature of all revolutions is to beget—however necessary they have been, and however sagely they may have been conducted—a tendency to revolutions; for men always imagine they can again attempt with success, that which they have seen done in their own time with facility. It is equally certain that no country can prosper under a perpetual series of revolutions; it follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that the ministry which succeeds a revolution, will be by duty and position, more or less a ministry of resistance; or, as I said, nearly two years ago—" the life of a prince, sprung from a popular convulsion will be almost always passed in struggling against popular concessions."

Indeed, if we look at that revolution in England, with which the late French revolution has been frequently compared—we shall find that severe laws against liberty were not wanting under the government of a monarch,

from whose accession to power notwithstanding,—our liberties spring.

It is idle then to expect what neither history warrants, nor human nature accords. Moreover, if revolutions were ever likely to have had enemies to oppose, and agitations to subdue, it was the revolution of July. The government founded on our revolution of 1688 rested in some sort on a religious enthusiasm; the government founded on *that* revolution of 1830 had *no enthusiasm* in its favour. The superstitions of old times, favourable to hereditary right, and of new times, inclined to impossible perfection, were equally against it. The present government in France then is, I repeat it, essentially and necessarily, what its defenders have frankly declared—*a government of resistance.* The only questions that can arise, are: where it should resist—how it should resist.

Open violence must of course be met by violence; but it is no small praise, and ought to be no small pride to the party which through different men, has almost uninterruptedly ruled—that as yet—five years having elapsed — three rebellions having taken place—not a single political scaffold has recorded the triumph of a dominant faction.

There are not many such examples in all history!

The course of civil resistance adopted, has displayed itself on two points—a refusal to extend the elective franchise beyond its present limits—and an attempt to restrict the press within narrower bounds than it was inclined to assign itself.

My own humble opinion in respect to the electoral law has been expressed, and I own that I deem a small constituency in a constitutional government, a very great danger and a very great evil, inasmuch as that it places that government in a false position, and does not afford it the warning or the assistance it would derive from the popular sentiment, having a more faithful organ of expression.

I own that I think some alteration ought to take place—*must* at no distant time take place on this subject—still the government established in 1830, though not walking with rapidity, did make a great step even on this point beyond the government which preceded it; and the present constituency of about 173,000, however small, is more than double the constituency of about 80,000 to which it succeeded.

That the doctrinal administration should resist here for a time then—may be wrong in

some of our opinions—is wrong in my opinion —but it hardly affords any just ground of violent reproach : for I am willing to admit that the result of nearly all revolutions (there are some exceptions) has been lost—when lost— by the principles on which they were founded, having been carried out too suddenly and too far ; and I also grant, that if there be any people in the world to whom freedom should be, if I may use the expression, cautiously measured out—it is that people, more than any other, volatile, capricious, prone to excess —amongst whom it is most necessary to create habits—and yet amongst whom habits are, with the most difficulty, created.

I come to the press and the conduct, more especially within these few months, pursued towards it.

Now as for the object which the government had in view by that conduct, it appears a legitimate one. The laws brought forward were professedly only aimed at these things ;—to preserve the person of the sovereign from abuse— and the principle of the monarchy from assault.

A state owes it to its own dignity to preserve, if possible, its first magistrate from indecent lampoons, and it can hardly be blamed for sheltering, and, if necessary, de-

fending—not the manner in which the government is administered, but the principle on which it is founded. Resistance to the press in both these cases then, would seem justifiable, if it were likely to attain its end by means justifiable also.

Here we arrive at that question — "*how should the government resist ?*"

I said but a short time since, that the best defence for those who refuse to sanction immediate constitutional changes rests on this ground—that it is desirable above all things, for a people who, in fifty years, have never ceased changing every thing, to acquire at last, the habit, even if what exist is not the best, of conserving something.

But if change be undesirable who should give the example of enduring inconvenience ? the minister who tells the people to pause before attempting to make their institutions yet more liberal, ought to be most careful in shewing that he is as scrupulously determined not to make those institutions less liberal.

The rule then which should guide any administration in their resistance to alterations in the charter is—*the charter*. Now there are some who think by the laws lately passed that this charter has been evaded in one

instance, and violated in another. The evasion they say consists in giving the appellation of 'high treason' to certain offences of the press, which are thus brought before the chamber of peers (forming a court in that peculiar instance) whereas the offences of the press were, by the constitution, expressly assigned to a jury—the violation, they say, consists in changing the constitution of the jury itself, which jury formerly voted openly, and now votes secretly, which jury formerly condemned by a majority of four, and now condemns by a majority of one. I do not, for my own part, either adopt or defend any exaggerated party charges, still I cannot help thinking that any great fundamental alterations for a momentary object must be unwise; more especially when it is wished to keep the public mind in an even course within certain constitutional channels, which channels, if you dam them up for a time, will be afterwards dangerously overflowed. They unsettle and confound people's opinions also, and make them consider that nothing is sacred, or superior to the exigencies of the hour.

Besides, they have another evil;—it is almost always necessary that they should be followed by measures of a similar nature: for they

create exaggerated suspicions which must be met by exaggerated defences and precautions, until a minister on one side, and a people on the other, are driven into a course contrary to the inclinations, the interests, and the intentions of either.*

* This is a question of policy which should be well considered before we proceed to laws of repression.

Will they protect us ?

To repress the *expression of opinion* is not to repress *opinion*.

There is a singular fact, to which, as it furnishes no mean argument of this, I call attention :

Under the empire the secret police cost .	789,000,000
Under the restoration from 1814, to 1818	56,000,000
Afterwards, about	2,400,000
Under M. de Martignac	1,700,000

Thus in almost an exact proportion with the silence imposed, was the watch which it was found necessary to maintain.

There is another consideration not to be forgotten. A minister should well penetrate himself with the spirit, and give to himself as it were, the character and the nature of the government which he administers ! A despotism when it is attacked, acts with sense in being despotic ; it is constituted expressly for such crisis, and has all the power that is necessary for crushing every enemy, and stifling every cry. But a government of popular forms can never long depart from the principles on which it is founded : it may exercise a power

It is on this account, indeed, that we should be more particularly regretful of late events; and here I speak, not merely as a man anxious for the prosperity of a fine and intelligent portion of the human race—but as an Englishman also anxious for the maintenance of that friendship between two nations—first at the present epoch of the world in arts and arms —whose alliance has afforded peace to Europe, and protection to the growth of liberal institutions in both countries.

That that alliance is chiefly one of opinion we well know; and yet some English journals have been lately thought treasonable in France! Deeply then do I regret the circumstances which have caused this. But would I say nothing disrespectful of the ministry, from whose views in some respects I differ.

In those volumes published in 1834, I observed that this ministry would be difficult to replace; and the short administration of three

foreign to its nature for a particular time, but that temporary power, given with reluctance, is too feeble to destroy the opposition which it silences. The road of violence in such governments then is short, and they who take it are almost sure to find the hostile passions which they drive before them in their march, collected and furious—where they pause.

days, which made its sudden appearance, and disappearance last year, shewed I was not mistaken.

It is formed of able and intelligent, and conscientious men, the greater part of whose lives has been passed in struggling for those principles to which they now, I trust but for the moment, appear opposed:—opposed, however—not, I do believe, with any evil or tyrannical intention, but from a disgust at absurdities it were wiser to overlook, from a sudden dread of difficulties almost overcome, and also, perchance, from that impatience of character which they share with their countrymen in general, and which seems the national impediment to freedom and repose.

One there is more especially, born of the revolution of 1830, whose elevation fortune favoured, and who was endowed with many of those qualities which design the leaders for troublesome times. Assailed by the most atrocious calumnies, that private envy could suggest, his talent broke through the jealous fetters that would have depressed it, and carried him at once to a high position in the country, of which he had studied the history—knew the character, and possessed in his love of the arts, in his passion for glory, in his

native eloquence and amiability—all the means of governing with success; surrounded by a generous youth whose hearts he might have won, and whose ardour he might have moderated, admired by a monarch whose cultivated tastes were in sympathy with his own, and holding out the hand of good fellowship to the people from whose ranks he had sprung —that minister, might have been—I trust may yet be—precious to his country.

There are certain perils which governments, placed in a peculiar position, are forced to undergo; and the monarchy of July—chosen, in the heat of a revolution, from three parties—must expect the enmity of those whom it was preferred to, and of those whom it does not represent; still it has one advantage: its duties are clearly pointed out; its position plainly determined. This monarchy has to preserve the honour of France with peace; the internal tranquillity of France with constitutional government. It stands as the representative of justice, moderation, legality, amidst the violence of contending passions and the tumult of perpetual crisis. *There is its glory, there its danger.* When reproached with its moderation, its love of peace and order, it is performing the task assigned to it;—a task difficult, but honourable;

and which, owing to the courage and the discretion of its defenders, it seemed at one moment certain of accomplishing.

But a government that wishes to perpetuate itself, must above all things be faithful to its origin! One man wished to be an emperor among emperors—and he fell;—for he was naturally the popular chief among a people of soldiers. Another man wished to be absolute monarch over a nation which had received him as its constitutional king—and he fell;—for his charter was—his crown.

That charter, picked up from the pavement, where it had fallen, and blessed by a new sanction, was again placed—a popular diadem—upon the head of a monarch—justly chosen for his citizen-like virtues, his probity, his firmness, his regard for his duties and engagements. Elected by the multitude who had conquered, he was consecrated by the press for which they had fought.

His lot is to conciliate his power with the causes of his power! that he will do so is the belief—that he may do so is the prayer of one who, no wrangler for theoretical perfection, no advocate for successive changes, deems that having once been chosen sovereign, the continuance of his reign is best

adapted to the prosperity of his country and the general interests of civilization and mankind.

Placed on the French throne, the head of the house of Orleans carried there many of the qualities of a great prince; prudent, eloquent, instructed, courageous, he has the prospect of leaving a dynasty in repose, beneath the protecting shadow of an illustrious name.

Yet is there no foundation for our affairs in desperate courses. Public as well as private life has an usurious policy—which, to satisfy the emergencies of the instant, borrows too largely from the times that will come.

Let all ministers beware of this policy! it saves for the moment—but it ruins in the end, and is equally unworthy of a people who love freedom, and of a monarchy which, with the aid of time and Providence, is well calculated to couple liberty with order.

POSTSCRIPT.

CHAPTER XV.

Two comparisons between France and England.

And now, France disappearing from our view, as I turn, not unwillingly homewards, it may not be incurious to enter, though but cursorily, into certain comparisons that this work suggests :—i. e. to consider how far England and France resemble one another at this moment ;—what period in French history admits the semblance of a parallel with that which will soon be English history, and is at this time passing before us.

At the present moment there can be no doubt that it would be impossible to find

two countries, which, with institutions apparently similar, are so entirely different as those I have just mentioned. This is easily accounted for—the character and history of the two people are different, and the distribution of property amongst them is also totally different; —on these three things, which fashion society, and social habits—the movement, if not the form, of government depends. There is liberty and a powerful aristocracy in one country—a powerful aristocracy will never submit to slavery; —there is equality and a democracy in the other —a democracy will never tolerate privileges. Money and birth are respected here; power and talent there. The law does in point of fact and practice subject the poor man to the rich man in England; the law does in point of fact and practice subject the individual to the governing authority in France. In either case the theory of the law would not do this. In France too, the lower classes have property, and are tranquil and independent; the higher are comparatively poor and servile. Talent, whether in arms, or literature, or through the press, governs both. In England, the lower class is daring, factious, and intelligent—the higher, prejudiced but high principled, and certainly not meanly avid of power—a middle

order running between them, has hitherto kept these two extremes together.

In France again, you meet the government every where—the gend'arme—the prefect—the police. In England all your affronts and annoyances come from individuals—the great man elbows you, the pauper taxes you, the pickpocket plunders you. On one side of the channel the great man takes off his hat to the government, and asks for a place, but he calls his valet 'his friend,'* and would not refuse to fight a duel with his 'decorated' coachman. On the other side of the channel, the great man snaps his fingers at the government, sends the poacher to prison for a pheasant, and pays respect to nothing, save some greater man than he is: viz. somebody better born or wealthier.

Much of this will no doubt alter with time in both countries: nor is it difficult to feel, as I write, that we breathe the quiet air of great, but healthy changes.

This brings me to consider what foundation there exists for that other comparison, not rarely made, between the period in France of 1789, and that of England in 1835.

In 1789 there was in France—a nobility

* "Mon ami!"

much indebted, too prone to idleness and dissipation, far alienated by haughty and exclusive habits from the provincial influence it had once possessed—but proud, courageous—unwilling to take a place in the new society which had grown up above it; lower than that which its ancestors occupied in the old society they overshadowed—a nobility which in the days of its power menaced the authority—in the days of its decay lived upon the bounty—and in the hour of its unpopularity clung to the protection—of the crown.

At this period also there was in France a middle class rising rich, ambitious, and disgusted at the pride of an order whose privileges had lost their charm.

An active race taken from all classes, save the aristocracy, and who, eager for employment, found in the army, in the church, in the colonies, in politics in general, that the road was obstructed to all but the peculiar set they did not belong to.

A people without property, and from a variety of circumstances (those which are operating in England, are different from those which had been operating in France) utterly without attachment to the possessors of the soil,

A church, independent of the state, with immense funds most unequally distributed—furnishing a worldly provision to the aristocracy, rather than a spiritual comfort to the people.

Corporations that had outlived their purposes, already attacked in principle and but weakly defended, even by the patrons of existing things.

A public opinion strongly in favour of changes amongst the great masses of the nation, and a public opinion as strongly against innovation amongst the fashionable circles of society.

In the royal family—one prince an advocate of liberal principles (the Comte de Provence); another forming secret societies in the army (le Comte d'Artois).

In the senate—a nobility defending itself by a distinguished and eloquent man sprung from the people (Casalès); a people assailing that nobility, and headed by the great aristocracy of the land—(the Montmorencys, Noailles, Lafayettes, Mirabeaus, Périgords.)

So far some persons might fancy they traced a likeness; but, as we advance further, all resemblance disappears: for France had not a prudent monarch brought up in constitutional principles, nor a sober-charactered people, who

had received a long political education, nor a bold and intelligent minister, equally remarkable for the sagacity of his views and his frank and manly manner of carrying them into execution.

Yet, if our comparisons fail, we shall have found in their pursuit two important lessons, really coinciding, if apparently opposed.

The one—that no class can stand against the liberal intelligence of its time:

The other—that a people adopting false and exaggerated notions of liberty may delay for a century the real enjoyment of it.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

LAW CONSTITUTING THE PEERAGE OF THE MONARCHY OF THE REVOLUTION.

29th December, 1831.

Louis Philippe, King of the French, to all present and to come *salut !*

PAGE 100.

The President of the Chamber of Deputies and other legislative assemblies.

The Deputies who shall have been named in three different Parliaments, and who shall, for six years, have exercised their functions.

The Marshals and Admirals of France.

The Lieutenants-General and Vice-Admirals of the armies of land and sea, after two years' rank.

The Ministers of any Department.

Ambassadors after three years' and Ministers Plenipotentiaries after six years' functions.

Councillors of State, after ten years of ordinary service.

The Prefects of Departments or of marine situations —after six years' service.

Colonial Governors after five years' exercise of their functions.

The Members of General Councils formed by election, after three elections to the presidency.

The Mayors of towns, of thirty thousand souls and above, after two elections, at least, as members of the municipal body, and after five years' performance of the functions of mayoralty.

The Presidents of the Court of Cassation and of the Court of Accounts.

The Procureurs-Généraux to these two courts, after five years' service in this quality.

The counsellors of the Court of Cassation, and the *conseillers-maîtres* of the Court of Accounts, after five years.

The Avocats-Généraux to the Court of Cassation, after ten years exercise of their duties.

The Premiers-Présidents of the Cours Royales, after five years' of magistracy in their courts.

The Procureurs-Généraux to the same courts, after ten years' functions.

The Presidents of the Tribunals of Commerce, in the towns of thirty thousand souls and above, after four nominations to these functions.

The titulary members of four academies of the Institut.

The citizens to whom, either by any law or on account of eminent services, there shall have been given a national recompense.

All Proprietors or Heads of any manufacture, or any

commercial house paying 3,000 francs of direct contributions, either on account of their landed property during three years, or on account of their patents during five years, when they shall have belonged for six years to a chamber of commerce of a 'conseil-général.'

Proprietors, manufacturers, traders, or bankers, paying 3,000 francs of imposition, shall have been named Deputies of Judges of the Tribunals of Commerce, *can be admitted at once as peers without any other condition.*

The Titulary who shall have successively exercised the functions above mentioned, can add up their services in all their different branches of employment, in order to complete the time necessary to their elevation.

It shall be dispensed from the time of employment required by the paragraphs 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17, above mentioned, the citizens who shall have been named in the year following the 30th July 1830, to the functions announced in these paragraphs, shall be dispensed in the same manner until the 7th January 1837, from the time of employment required by the paragraphs 3, 11, 12, 21, the named or maintained since 30th July 1830, in the functions announced in these five paragraphs.

These conditions of eligibility can be modified into a law.

The ordinances among peers shall be individual. The ordinances shall mention the services and state, the titles on which the nomination shall be founded.

In future, no salary, no pension, no donation, shall be attached to the dignity of peer.

The Present Law discussed, deliberated, and adopted

by the chamber of Peers, and by that of the Deputies, and sanctioned by us this day shall be executed as a law of the State.

L. PHILIPPE.

Palace of the Tuileries, 29th Dec. 1831.

LOI SUR LA PRESSE.

(1) *Loi du* 17 *mai* 1819, *art* 1^er^ " Quiconque, soit par des discours, des cris ou menaces proférés dans des lieux ou réunions publics, soit par des écrits, des imprimés, des dessins, des gravures, des peintures ou emblêmes vendus ou distribués, mis en vente, ou exposés dans des lieux ou réunions publics, soit par des placards et affiches exposés aux regards du public, aura provoqué l'auteur ou les auteurs de toute action qualifiée crime ou délit à la commettre, sera réputé complice et puni comme tel."

(2) *Code pénal, art.* 86. " L'attentat contre la vie ou contre la personne du roi est puni de la peine du parricide.—L'attentat contre la vie ou contre la personne des membres de la famille royale, est puni de la peine de mort.—Toute offense commise publiquement envers la personne du roi, sera punie d'un emprisonnement de six mois à cinq ans, et d'une amende de cinq cents francs à dix mille francs ; le coupable pourra en outre être interdit de tout ou partie des droits mentionnés en l'article 42, pendant un temps égal à celui de l'emprisonnement auquel il aura été condamné. Ce temps courra à compter du jour où le coupable aura subi sa peine."

Art. 87. " L'attentat dont le but sera, soit de détruire

soit de changer le gouvernement ou l'ordre de successibilité au trône, soit d'exciter les citoyens ou habitans à s'armer contre l'autorité royale, sera puni de mort."

(3) *Loi du* 17 *mai* 1819, *art.* 9. " Quiconque par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'art. 1^er^ de la présente loi, se sera rendu coupable d'offenses envers la personne du roi, sera puni d'un emprisonnement qui ne pourra être de moins de six mois, ni excéder cinq années, et d'une amende qui ne pourra être au-dessous de 500 francs, ni excéder 10,000 fr.—Le coupable pourra en outre être interdit de tout ou partie des droits mentionnés en l'art 42 du Code pénal, pendant un temps égal à celui de l'emprisonnement auquel il aura été condamné. Ce temps courra à compter du jour où le coupable aura subi sa peine." Voir ci-après (6).

(4) *Loi du* 29 *novembre* 1830, *art.* 1^er^ : " Toute attaque par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'article 1^er^ de la loi du 17 mai 1819, contre la dignité royale, ordre de successibilité au trône, les droits que le roi tient du vœu de la nation française, exprimé dans la déclaration du 7 août 1830, et de la charte constitutionnelle, par lui acceptée et jurée dans la séance du 9 août de la même année, son autorité constitutionnelle, l'inviolabilité de sa personne, les droits et l'autorité des chambres, sera punie d'un an d'emprisonnement de trois à cinq ans, et d'une amende de trois cents francs à six mille francs."—Art. 2 : " L'article 2 de la loi du 25 mars 1822 est et demeure abrogé."

(5) *Loi du* 17 *mai* 1819, *art.* 8 : "Tout outrage à la morale publique et religieuse ou aux bonnes mœurs, par l'un des moyens énoncés en l'art. 1^er^. sera puni d'un emprisonnement d'un mois à un an et d'une amende de 16 fr. à 500 fr."

(6) *Code pénal, art.* 42 : " Les tribunaux, jugeant correctionnellement, pourront, dans certains cas, interdire en tout ou en partie l'exercice des droits civiques, civils et de famille suivans : 1° de vote et d'élection ; 2° d'éligibilité ; 3° d'être appelé ou nommé aux fonctions de juré ou autres fonctions publiques, ou aux emplois de l'administration, ou d'exercer ces fonctions ou emplois : 4° de port d'armes ; 5° de vote et de suffrage dans les délibérations de famille ; 6° d'être tuteur, curateur, si ce n'est de ses enfans, et sur l'avis seulement de la famille ; 7° d'être expert ou employé comme témoin dans les actes ; 8° de témoignage en justice autrement que pour y faire de simples déclarations."

(7) *Loi du* 9 *juin* 1819, *art.* 9. " Les propriétaires ou éditeurs responsables d'un journal ou écrit périodique, ou auteur ou rédacteur d'articles imprimés dans ledit journal ou écrit, prévenus de crimes ou délits pour fait de publication, seront poursuivis et jugés dans les formes et suivant les distinctions prescrites à l'égard de toutes les autres publications." Art. 10. " En cas de condamnation, les mêmes peines leur seront appliquées : toutefois les amendes pourront être élevées au double, et en cas de récidive portées au quadruple sans préjudice des peines de la récidive prononcées par le Code pénal."

(8) *Loi du* 18 *juillet* 1828, *art.* 3 : " Seront exempts de tout cautionnement :

" 1° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques qui ne paraissent qu'une fois par mois ou plus rarement.

" 2° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques exclusivement consacrés, soit aux sciences mathématiques, physiques, et naturelles, soit aux travaux et recherches d'érudition,

soit aux arts mécaniques et libéraux, c'est-à-dire aux sciences et aux arts dont s'occupent les trois académies des sciences, des inscriptions et des beaux-arts de l'Institut royal.

" 3° Les journaux ou écrits périodiques étrangers aux matières politiques, et exclusivement consacrés aux lettres ou d'autres branches de connaissances non spécifiées précédemment, pourvu qu'ils ne paraissent au plus que deux fois par semaine.

" 4° Tous les écrits périodiques étrangers aux matières politiques, et qui seront publiés dans une autre langue que la langue française.

" 5° Les feuilles périodiques, exclusivement consacrés aux avis, annonces, affiches judiciaires, arrivages maritimes, mercuriales et prix courans.

" Toute contravention aux dispositions du présent article sera punie conformément à l'art. 6 de la loi du 9 juin 1819." (Voir note 9.)

(9) *Loi du 9 juin* 1812, *art.* 6. " Quiconque publiera un journal ou écrit périodique sans avoir satisfait aux conditions prescrites par les articles 1, 4 et 5 de la présente loi, sera puni correctionnellement d'un emprisonnement d'un mois à six mois, et d'une amende de deux cents francs à douze cent francs."

(10) *Loi du* 18 *juillet* 1828, *Art.* 8 : " Chaque numéro de l'écrit périodique sera signé en minute par le propriétaire, s'il est unique ; par l'un des gérans responsables, si l'écrit périodique est publié par une société en nom collectif ou en commandite ; et par l'un des administrateurs, s'il est publié par une société anonyme.— L'exemplaire signé pour minute sera, au moment de la publication, déposé au parquet du procureur du roi du lieu de l'impression, ou à la mairie dans les villes où

il n'y a pas de tribunal de première instance, à peine de cinq cents francs d'amende contre les gérans. Il sera donné récépissé du dépôt.—La signature sera imprimée au bas de tous les exemplaires, à peine de cinq cents francs d'amende contre l'imprimeur, sans que la révocation du brevet puisse s'ensuivre.—Les signataires de chaque feuille ou livraison seront responsables de son contenu et passibles de toutes les peines portées par la roi à raison de la publication des articles ou passages incriminés, sans préjudice de la poursuite contre l'auteur ou les auteurs desdits articles ou passages, comme complices. En conséquence, les poursuites judiciaires pourront être dirigées, tant contre les signataires des feuilles ou livraisons, que contre l'auteur ou les auteurs des passages incriminés, si ces auteurs peuvent être connus ou mis en cause."

(11) *Loi du* 25 *mars* 1822, *art.* 11 : " Les propriétaires ou éditeurs de tout journal ou écrit périodique seront tenus d'y insérer, dans les trois jours de la réception, ou dans le plus prochain numéro, s'il n'en était pas publié avant l'expiration des trois jours, la réponse de toute personne nommée ou désignée dans le journal ou écrit périodique, sous peine d'une amende de 50 fr. à 500 fr. ; sans préjudice des autres peines et dommages-intérêts auxquels l'article incriminé pourrait donner lieu. Cette insertion sera gratuite, et la réponse pourra avoir le double de la longueur de l'article auquel elle sera faite."

ALL PASSAGES OR WORDS NOT TRANSLATED IN THE TEXT WILL BE FOUND AMONG THE FOLLOWING:

MANNERS.

PAGE 7.

NOTE.—My drawing-room again had its crowds, and I once more had the pleasure of conversation, in Paris, which I confess was always, to me, the most captivating of all.

PAGE 12.

Monsieur ———, with much gesticulation, and uttering loud outcries from his bench.

PAGE 13.

Here the President rings his bell.—At this moment the chamber is in confusion.

PAGE 19.

His voice, which more than once had carried terror to the palace whence it had cast out tyranny, might carry terror also to the souls of those traitors who desired to substitute their tyranny in place of the monarchy.

PAGE 22.

Yes, a fine school of anatomy.

PAGE 23.

Oh! the charming little man, as he was! How white his teeth, like pearls; small—yes, small—delicate hands —perfumed! How elegant the little man was—and how great an eater!

PAGE 26.

At all events I can continue Julia, and my phaeton. But what is the matter with him? He adores Adela— What fine children!—and why did not they tell me of it?—She will not return again until it is over—All will be soon well.

PAGE 31.

Poor fellow! down he fell, dead!

PAGE 34.

The poor Princess gave such fine balls.

Conjugal virtue. Virtue in a married woman, is to continue attached to her lover even though he is disagreeable to her.

YOUNG FRANCE.

PAGE 56.

Head of hair.

SOCIAL STATE.

PAGE 89.

Nevertheless estates in possession, which form the grants for support of hereditary titles, which the Em-

peror shall have made to a Prince, or to the head of a family, must be transmitted to the heir [as an entailed estate.]

PAGE 96.

We did not wish to burden the country with eighty thousand tyrants, but only three hundred individuals whom we wished to invest with high functions. That was all.

PAGE 97.

The gods we have at present are Science and Art; we are excited in the theatres and the court as we once were in the churches: the heart which formerly was obedient to priests, we now consecrate entirely to philosophers and poets.

STATE OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

PAGE 110.

The poor's rate was raised compulsorily.

PAGE 128.

That France has the blessing of not being distracted by those dissensions, which in other countries cause discord betwixt the workmen and the manufacturer who employ them.

EQUALITY.

PAGE 131.

All men are equal and free from their birth; no one has a greater right than others to employ his natural or

acquired talents; this privilege partaken by all, is alone limited by the conscience of the man exercising it, which forbids him to make any use of it to the detriment of his fellow-men.

THE END.

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